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# Near East/South Asia Report

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9 November 1983

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BAHRAIN, DUBAI BENEFIT FROM HIGH ALUMINUM PRICES

Doha GULF TIMES in English 6, 7 Oct 83 p 25

[Text]

THE aluminium industry is booming and that's good news for both Aluminium Bahrain (Alba) and Dubai Aluminium (Dubal), the Gulf's two major smelters which have been battling to stay afloat during the longest and deepest recession in the industry's history.

Prices for raw aluminium have doubled since January and both Alba and Dubal have been able to run down record stockpiles of the metal to take advantage of the higher prices.

By January this year the Alba smelter in Bahrain was surrounded by a sea of aluminium amounting to 78,600 ingots. Today the number of ingots is down to just under 40,000.

The Bahrain plant is currently shipping around 29,000 tonnes of metal every 28 days and total shipments for the year so far amount to 155,732 tonnes, up 42% over the same period last year.

A similar story can be told of the Dubai plant which like Alba continued to produce at or near to maximum capacity during the period of slack demand.

But as prices continue to rise smelters around the world, which had been operating at levels as low as 45%, are stepping up production to meet the new demand.

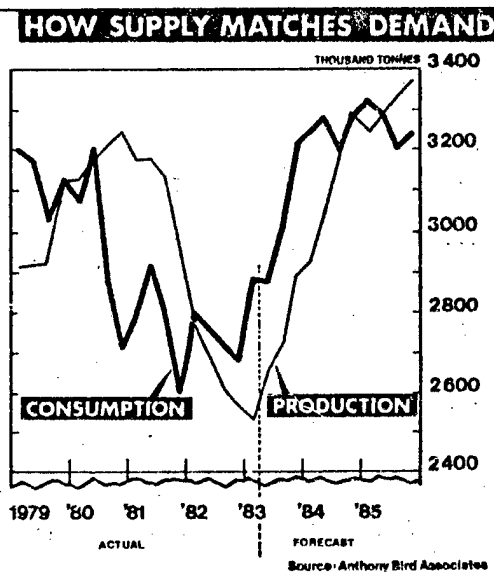
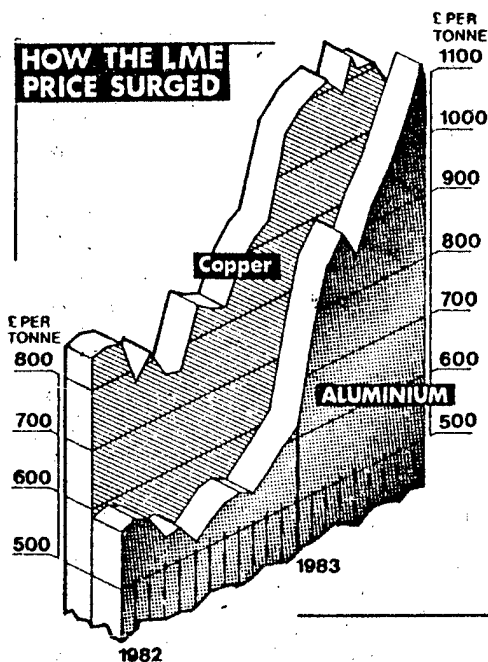
Growing competition among producers may result in a levelling out of prices, some industry analysts said. When that happens the speculators could decide to take their profits and run, leaving prices to fall back.

Even without the element of speculation the future for both Alba and Dubal is far from clear. Although both companies have relatively modern plants and the benefit of low energy costs, with oil prices and production depressed there will be increasing pressure on the companies if prices slip back.

The companies need no reminding that aluminium usually performs well in the early stages of an economic recovery but then fades as consumer spending slows down. Simultaneously higher prices tend to push major customers towards alternative materials, such as copper in electric cable, and tinplate in packaging.

This time aluminium demand and prices have grown even faster than usual for this phase of a recovery. Producers worry that prices have advanced too fast, causing the metal to lose its competitiveness in some markets unusually early in the cycle.

So far the main factor behind aluminium's recovery has been the exceptionally strong performance of industries that consume a lot of aluminium espe-



cially in the US where roughly half the world's aluminium is used. About a quarter of all aluminium produced goes into transportation equipment and consumer durables. And the amount of aluminium being used in car and truck manufacture has been rising because of the industry's attempts to reduce vehicle weight.

Building materials consume another 25% of aluminium production: the outlook for the US construction industry is now uncertain, but it was recovering strongly early this year.

In Europe producers have felt the same surge in demand this year as the Americans in flat products — used notably in packaging and in truck trailer panels. But VAW, the West German market leader, said last month that its capacity for making extrusions — for things like window frames — was operating

at only 70%. In France and Italy markets are even weaker.

The companies have another reason for not fully trusting current price levels. Much of the rapid recovery in aluminium prices may simply reflect the depth of the fall last year, when prices slid to a low of around 40 cents a pound in the US and £506 a tonne on the LME.

When the turn came, customers rushed to rebuild their stocks in advance of price increases and this is still going on, some producers believe.

Whatever the real state of final demand — or prices — the inescapable fact for the moment is that shortages of metal are developing and aluminium prices are still rising faster than those of some competitive materials, such as copper and steel.

— GTNS

## OVERVIEW OF PROPORTIONAL, ABSOLUTE LIST ELECTIONS

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 14 Aug 83 p 9

[Article by Fathi Radwan: "Absolute and Proportional Electoral Districts in Egypt"]

[Text] Egypt had its first parliament in 1866 under Khedive Isma'il. At that time it was called the Advisory Chamber of Deputies. When the disastrous British occupation fell upon the country in 1882, Egypt founded two superficial councils: one of them was known as the Advisory Council on Laws, and the other was called the General Assembly. In 1913 a legislative assembly was established; it had been proposed by the British commissioner, Lord Kitchener, who was appointed minister of war during World War I. Lord Kitchener lost his life later when one of the ships of the British fleet sank. Then a new stage in parliamentary life began when the constitution of 1913 was promulgated. Except for 3 [intervening] years that constitution continued in effect till 1952. During those 3 years what became known as the 1930 Constitution was in effect; it had been drawn up by the government of Isma'il Sidqi Pasha.

In all this time Egypt had had only one election system: that of simple, one-man electoral districts. That was also the case in the period of time that preceded the occupation. This period was known as that of the 'Urabi Revolution. It was during that period that the 1882 Constitution was promulgated.

In the administrations of 'Abd-al-Nasir and al-Sadat elections were always held on the basis of one-man electoral districts.

Suddenly, however, and without any preliminaries, without any complaints from anyone, and without a [single] suggestion from a professor or from one of the people's organizations, there surfaced an idea that elections ought to be held by absolute lists. Since a date had been set for the election of a new council--the Shura [Advisory] Council--which was added to the People's Assembly, it was thought that the absolute list system would be adopted. This system was applied in elections for city councils and for people's assemblies in the governorates. These are councils for local government.

What is a one-man electoral district? And what are absolute and proportional elections? What was the reason for setting aside an old, established system and replacing it with a new system that Egypt had not tried before? No one knows what gave the government that idea and what the anticipated benefits of that system are.

No one would deny that the election system in the West is one of the problems of political life there because the primary purpose of an election is the proper representation of people. [The primary concern in an election] is that no one's vote would be lost when these votes are cast in ballot boxes.

Parliamentary life in the West depends basically on elections: elections are the backbone of parliamentary life. They are the only means by which the notion of every individual in the country having one vote can be achieved. This notion, which has been called for by regimes in the countries of Europe and the Americas, is expressed by the slogan, "One man, one vote."

Scholars of constitutional law and politicians in the West have complained about the loss of interest among voters as one legislative assembly succeeded another and many promises of change and more wealth, prosperity and stability were made by rulers. Of all these promises nothing worthwhile, however, was achieved. Thus, the rationale behind a parliamentary system became untenable. That rationale had gloried in the fact that each individual in the nation, regardless of his status in society, his wealth, his education or his parentage, could take part in choosing the legislators who serve on legislative bodies, including a parliament, national assemblies, people's assemblies or houses of representatives or elders. [In a parliamentary system] every individual also takes part in electing the president. There are few countries in Europe where rulers, such as state governors and members of municipal and rural councils, are elected by a large number of people.

If the number of people taking part in these elections declines until it is less than half the population, that means that the governments are not parliamentary. Such governments do not represent the people: they are not guided by people's opinions; they do not try to find out what the people's wishes are; and they are not subject to the people's supervision and guidance.

Many ideas have been offered on how voters may be induced to take part in an election, go to a polling station and vote. Among such ideas is the imposition of a penalty on voters who fail to vote. Another is depriving voters who fail to vote of some of their political or civil rights, or posting the names of voters who fail to vote in a number of public places to denounce them publicly and criticize their conduct.

It became evident, however, that there was another side to the problem. There are voters who would go out of their way to vote. They take the trouble to go to the voting stations that are set up by the government to house the ballot boxes where people cast their ballots. These people go to the voting stations regardless of the weather, regardless of the distance between the voting station and their homes and regardless of the length of the lines in front of the polling booth in which they have to wait for their turn to vote. [They disregard] the boredom or fatigue that this may cause. It is such boredom or fatigue that keeps voters away from an election and causes them to go home where it's comfortable and warm and where they can enjoy a day of rest. [Other] voters would not take part in a future election after having gone through that experience once.

A voter who fulfills his political duty conscientiously and declares his opinion about the affairs of his country casts his vote in vain. His vote is wasted and

viewed with indifference. This is because the election system is basically based on counting the number of votes each candidate got. Anyone who gets more votes [than his opponent], even one vote more than his opponent got, is elected. This means that the opinions of other voters are not taken into account. Those voters are citizens who have a right to vote. They are citizens who did their duty, who endured hardship and who did not stay home because they preferred their own comfort. Those people may make up a majority if the ballots they cast in all electoral districts were added up.

Discrepancies have been established; some of them were evident in the recent British elections. In the case of a party that wins in most electoral districts because its candidates got half the vote plus one: if the votes cast for that party in all the districts where that party's candidates won were added up, and if all the votes cast for the opposing party were added up too, the result would be curious indeed. A party may win an election in most electoral districts by getting half of all the votes plus one, even though the number of voters who supported that party's candidates in all the districts is actually less than the number of voters who voted for the other party. This means that assuming there are 100 seats in a parliamentary body, a party may win 60 seats even though those who voted for that party are 45 percent of the electorate. The opposing party would win 45 out of the 100 seats even though those who voted for that party in all the districts make up 55 percent of the electorate. Thus, the party that is supported by the majority does not come to power and does not get a majority of the vote, but the party that is not supported by a majority of the voters rules. This is attributed to the fact that, on the one hand, each district does not have an equal number of voters, and, [on the other hand], the ratio of those who vote in one district is not equal to that in another.

There may be 10,000 voters in one district, and one of the candidates [in that district] may get 4,000 votes and lose. In another district there may be 7,000 voters, and a candidate may get 3,500 votes and win. This may happen again and again in most district, creating this curious discrepancy between the limited support throughout the country that the party which won the election has and that party's sweep of the electoral districts. Therefore, scholars of constitutional law thought about a method by which they could correct this shortcoming. The idea of proportionality, [the notion that] counting the ballots cast in each district would not be enough, was thus established. In addition to counting the ballots cast in each district, figures about the voters in all districts would be added. Parties would then be ranked in light of those figures, and the results of the elections in the districts would be amended accordingly so as to make them conform to the total number of ballots cast. Thus, a party that gets 60 percent of the vote would get only 60 percent of the seats in parliament, and the party that got only 40 percent of the vote must have the number of seats it holds reduced to 40 percent, even if its candidates had won only 5 percent of the seats, and so on.

The ways in which the idea of proportionality could be used have been increased, and so have the purposes of using proportionality. A theory of proportionality was introduced to limit the number of parties that would be represented in a legislative assembly by one, two or a few more representatives. This would prevent having a large number of parties represented in a legislative assembly since that would break up a parliamentary majority and would make the formation of a

cabinet with a clear, strong majority difficult. Coalition cabinets would thus be required. These consist of more than one party, and they bring together in the cabinet the elements and the differences that exist among representatives of different parties. Thus a cabinet would fall and another would be formed again. Disagreements and dissension would recur; the cabinet would fall again; and the state would live in anxiety. No cabinet would have [enough] time. It was for this reason that the idea of proportionality grew. It would keep out of a legislative assembly a party that does not win in a general election a certain percentage of the vote--five percent, for example--in all districts.

The theory of proportionality in elections is a well-known theory, and its applications are numerous. However, it is applied only in accordance with the conditions of each country and in the light of that country's electoral and constitutional experiences.

The ideal application for the theory of proportionality is that whose aim is to be fair to those parties that do not fare well in [separate] electoral districts even though the ballots that were cast for them in all electoral districts make them entitled to have a larger number of representatives.

Whatever the reasons for applying a method of proportionality, nothing had ever happened in Egypt to call for the application of a system that would keep out of the legislative assembly parties that did not get a certain percentage of the total vote. This is because Egypt has experienced no political instability after 100 years of holding elections. Egypt had been using the system of one-man electoral districts in which a candidate who gets a majority of the vote, even by one vote, wins an election. We are referring to all the elections that have been held, and we add, particularly those that were held after the introduction of the modern voting system.

Elections used to produce a strong and clear majority [for one party] over all other parties. This made it easy to form a cabinet that was supported by a majority of the members of the legislative assembly without the need to form a coalition.

The only time a coalition government was formed was in 1926 when Sa'd Zaghlul was leader. This coalition cabinet was formed not because none of the parties had a clear majority. In fact, the elections that were held that year under the [auspices of a] coalition cabinet produced a clear majority for al-Wafd Party, and that situation remained unchanged until 1952. After that, as has already been stated, the system of a one-man district continued to be in use, and there was no need [whatsoever] to resort to any kind of proportionality.

When a system of proportionality was introduced in the latter part of al-Sadat's administration, the form that was chosen for it was that of an absolute list. According to that system the country would be divided into a number of electoral districts. Parties would compete in elections by nominating their candidates in each district separately, and the party that would get the majority of the votes in a district would have all its candidates in that district win. That party would get all the seats in the legislative assembly for that district, while other parties would be denied those seats even if a number of their candidates had won in the election. Those candidates that won an election in a district

would not get seats in the legislative assembly because their party did not win a majority of the vote in that district. As a result of this system all opposition parties lost in the elections for the Shura [Advisory] Council, and the government's party got all the seats in the council. This, without any beating about the bush, is a return to the one-party system in a legislative assembly.

Therefore, opposition parties banded together and decided to resist that system. They criticized it strongly, and the government turned away from it. However, the government soon announced that it had chosen a proportional majority system. This meant that a party that does not win 10 percent of the total vote in all districts would be considered a weak party that cannot do a good job of representing the people. It would therefore not be entitled to occupy even one seat in the assembly. This would preclude the presence in the assembly of many weak parties whose presence, [it was argued] would hamper the formation of strong cabinets, undermine stability and create a state of chaos that would begin to spread like a dark cloud all over the country.

Once again opposition parties resisted that system. They said that as a result of that [system of] proportionality opposition parties would be summarily denied representation by even one person. President Husni Mubarak spoke at the Youth Conference which is affiliated with the government's party and defended the idea of proportionality. He appealed to the People's Assembly to reduce the percentage [for admissibility to the assembly] from 10 percent to 8, and he used the same arguments we mentioned to justify that new system.

The anger felt by the opposition was unabated. It was felt that the conditions under which opposition parties were founded, the restrictions that were placed on them and the short period during which they have been engaged in their activities made it difficult, and perhaps even impossible, for them to get that eight percent of the vote. First, opposition parties are denied access to effective means of communicating with the public. They are denied access to radio and television where speeches supporting the government and blessing its actions are broadcast from morning to night. At the same time not a single member of the opposition is permitted to address the people on radio or television. This is a violation of the rights of all citizens to equal treatment. This is being done to keep opposition parties away from everything that would enable them to make an impression on people legally and induce them to reject the government in an effective and impressive manner.

The major newspapers in the country are newspapers that were founded before 1952. They are old newspapers whose leading writers also write for numerous magazines and other periodicals; all of these publications work for the government.

Furthermore, all positions that have anything to do with the public's needs, such as those of governors, presidents and members of local councils, are held by members of the ruling party, and this makes it impossible [for the opposition] to influence the opinions of voters.

The opposition has concluded at its press conferences and at its political meetings that this new step was a decisive step toward the formation of a single-party system. Therefore, the opposition has resolved to continue the fight against this new system. If the government cannot be persuaded to change its mind about this new system, the opposition will boycott the election so that the truth about the government and its image would become apparent.

RULING PARTY, ADVISORY COUNCIL CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 22 Aug 83 p 10

[Article by Wahid Ghazi: "A Very Democratic Dialogue!"]

[Text] Leaders of the youth contingent of the Democratic National Party sat in one of the party's offices carrying out a plan to promote the party's candidates to local councils. They were charged with the task of writing copy for the candidates' publicity banners, and they were to hang these banners in visible places. Since the election this time is being held according to lists, publicity is being focused on the achievements of the party. In the past publicity was focused on the achievements of each individual candidate. Members of the publicity committee drafted the copy for the statements they had chosen [for these banners] in preparation for having them copied on to banners which they would then hang in public places.

The first statement the young people selected to publicize their ruling party went like this:

"Vote for the list of the National Party's candidates! Vote for the party that reduced prices, raised wages, made goods available and totally eliminated the black market."

The young members of the party inquired at all public sector stores. They wanted to get a few meters of white (percale) which they would use to make the publicity banners. But their efforts proved to be futile. There was a shortage of percale in the market, and their only recourse was to buy it from the black market at double the price!

They began writing the publicity banners for the party.

The second statement the young members of the Democratic Party chose to use to publicize their party stated, "Vote for the list of the National Party! Vote for the party that repaired power, water and sewage facilities. Vote for the party that will restore full capacity operations at these facilities soon, God willing."

They began copying that statement on a number of banners. But suddenly there was a power failure, and they were unable to continue writing the signs. The fans stopped working and some of the young people went out on the balconies looking for a breath of fresh air. One of these young people stumbled over the bottles of

ink they were using to write the signs. Then they lit candles and asked one of the custodians to fetch them a pail of water so they can clean up the ink which had been spilled on the floor. The custodian returned with an empty pail. He apologized for not bringing the water because water service to the entire neighborhood had been disconnected, as usual.

One of the young people exclaimed, "We must write a memo to the chairman of the Youth Committee asking him to forward it to the upper echelons of the party. How can we write on the party's publicity banners that the party 'repaired the facilities' when the neighborhood has no power and no water? These facilities must be repaired immediately before the party enters the election."

Another one said, "We can at least make some makeshift repairs until the election is over. After the election we can say that we had to cut off the water and electricity because we were making renovations in the networks."

A third person spoke with fervor and said, "Come on now; let's be fair! Our party cannot do everything. Is the party going to get itself all worked up, as Samir Ghanim says in [the program], "al-Fawazir" [Riddles]? It's enough that the party is now preoccupied with the renovations it is making in the sewage system. On my way here I saw renovation operations for the sewage system going on at full steam in Bab al-Khalq Square. That was a delightful sight. No one can say after that that the sewage is overflowing. I challenge anyone to say that...."

But before he could finish what he wanted to say the young people heard voices in front of the office. When they opened the door, two men who lived in that neighborhood walked in carrying a young man who had fallen in [a pool of] sewage that was overflowing in the street.

The young man who had exclaimed about writing a memo to the chairman of the Youth Committee exclaimed [again], "Didn't I tell you that we have to write a memo to the chairman of the committee?"

Power had not been restored yet, but in the candlelight they were able to discern the face of the young man who had fallen in the [pool of] sewage. It was that of the chairman of the Youth Committee!

One of the young people dashed to the telephone to call for an ambulance. The chairman of the committee had sustained an injury to his leg when he fell in the [pool of] sewage. But the telephone was out of order!

Then the chairman of the committee suggested that the young people take him home in the party's car and that they themselves go home. He suggested that they would resume the publicity campaign for the party's lists on the following day.

On the following day the young people came to the party's offices to resume [the task of] writing the publicity banners. They sat around a conference table conferring with each other. Then one of them proposed that they modify their publicity style by adding future tense markers to the verbs in the banners. Thus, instead of saying, for example, "Vote for the candidates of the party that repaired facilities for you," they agreed to say, "Vote for the candidates of the party that will repair the facilities for you."

Leaders of the party's youth contingent who were meeting said that using the future tense with the verbs in the banners would turn each banner into a promise with which the public can be persuaded to vote for the party. At the same time, if they did that they would not lose the fabric on which they had written the publicity statements. This is because they could add the future tense markers to\* every sign that had already been transcribed without distorting the sign itself. They would thus be preserving the party's funds, which are the people's funds; the banners had been purchased and paid for by the party's funds. However, when they voted on that proposal they became divided into two groups: one group supported the proposal, and the other suggested a completely different style for the new banners. For example, instead of having the banner state, "Vote for the candidates of the party that will repair facilities for you," or, "Vote for the candidates of the party that will build homes for you," the sign would say, "Vote for the candidates of the party and we will repair facilities for you" or "Vote for the candidates of the party and we will build homes for you."

One of them spoke sharply and said, "That style would threaten people. It means that we would be telling them, 'Either you vote for us or there will be no facilities and no homes.' "

Another retorted, "Do you mean to say that if people were to vote for us, we would really build homes for them and we would really repair facilities? Come on, man; this is propaganda talk!"

A third intervened and said, "I agree with my first colleague. If we were to write the banners and if we were to say on those banners, 'Vote for us and we will build and reform,' that style would be threatening just as though we were telling people, 'We will destroy you if you vote for the lists of candidates of the opposition parties.' "

A fourth young man said, "Forgive me, my friend, what you are saying is nonsense. All the opposition parties have boycotted the elections for local councils after we made those elections based on absolute lists. No one is running in the election but us."

A fifth said, "If this is the case, then why are we wearing ourselves out if we are sure of [the outcome of] the electoral districts?"

A sixth replied, "We have to work hard and to put out publicity for our party so that the whole world would know that we were elected in a democratic manner in an honest election."

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[ \* In many Arabic verbs a future tense marker may be added to verbs by adding a one-letter prefix to those verbs, ا . Thus, it would be easier to make this change in transcribing the Arabic banner than it would be if the banners were in English. See also the preceding paragraph on the previous page.]

TOURISM MINISTER DISCUSSES WEAKNESSES OF TOURISM

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2548, 24 Aug 83 p 22

[Interview with Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Tawfiq 'Abduh Isma'il by Suhayr al-Husayni: "A Candid Talk with the Minister of Tourism; 'We've Turned Our Problems into Disasters and That Made an Impact on the Tourist Season' "]

[Text] The tourism sector did not achieve the figures that had been set for it in the 5-Year Plan during the first half of this year. Rates of growth in tourism this year were to have amounted to 12 percent, but the increase that has actually been achieved so far is 5.6 percent. The reasons for that are numerous and varied, as minister of tourism and civil aviation Tawfiq 'Abduh Isma'il emphasized. His excellency also explained the real reasons behind the delay in the full utilization of south Sinai as a tourist attraction. The minister affirmed that considerable and concrete progress will be realized in tourism in the next few years. This will come about through the construction of many luxurious hotels and tourist villages. In addition there is a plan that is presently being carried out by the ministry to make summer travel and convention tourism flourish.

These statements were made by the minister of tourism and civil aviation, Mr Tawfiq 'Abduh Isma'il.

The Media Are Responsible

[Question] What are the reasons behind the fact that the tourism sector did not achieve the objectives that were set for it in the 5-Year Plan this year? This sector was expected to realize a 12 percent growth, but it realized only 5.6 percent. What is your explanation for that?

[Answer] Actually, Arab tourism was significantly affected by the conditions to which we were subjected in the past 6 months. There was the crisis of the sewage system and sanitary drainage in al-Jizah, and there was the counter propaganda that accompanied that crisis. Egyptian media agencies also exaggerated [their reports on] summer diseases and how widespread they were. The reports were grossly exaggerated, and they were completely non-factual. This had a poor effect on the summer travel season with regard to our fellow Arabs. Arab tourists were terrified and scared of coming to Egypt. Therefore, we are asking our fellow journalists and the media, both national and partisan, to take such matters into account in the future. They are inadvertently hurting Egypt's national interests.

Inspite of that a 2.5 percent increase was realized in Arab tourism during the first 6 months of the year, compared with the same period last year. Tourism from Europe also increased by 9.5 percent. At the same time the number of tourists from socialist countries during the first 6 months of the year rose by 23 percent. The average growth this year in the tourism sector amounted to 5.6 percent although it was expected to reach 12 percent. However, we are still hopeful that during the months of July and August the growth in tourism will be such that it will be consistent with the objectives that were set in the 5-Year Plan this year.

Isn't There a Shortage of Hotels?

[Question] Your excellency then is holding the media responsible for the fact that the objectives set for the tourism sector were not achieved. What about some of the problems and difficulties that tourists encounter in Egypt? Don't they have something to do with that?

The minister smiled dispassionately and then spoke.

[Answer] Tourists now encounter no obstacles. The ministry has recently been trying to provide everything [required] for the comfort of tourists.

[Question] What about the critical situation regarding booking in hotels and the unavailability of space?

[Answer] There is no critical situation now regarding hotel bookings. This has been the case since 1981. There may be great demand for luxurious five-star hotels; bookings at those hotels are always over capacity. Therefore, we are encouraging investors to direct their investments to the construction of such hotels. These hotels are booked over 90 percent the year round. But tourism is not hotels only. It involves the general environment and the conduct of all individuals in society. Nevertheless, and despite all the conditions that Egypt and the surrounding area are going through, with the war in Lebanon and the economic recession in the world, this year Egypt is still ahead of all the countries of the Middle East in tourism.

We've noticed this year a phenomenon that gives us cause to be optimistic. For the first time we have tourists coming to Egypt from Japan and from the United States. These tourists have outnumbered tourists from any other country. During the past 6 months we've had 70,000 American tourists; 55,000 French tourists; and 54,000 Saudi tourists arriving in Egypt.

Summer Travel

[Question] Your excellency mentioned that the ministry has provided facilities for summer travelers. What are they?

[Answer] Summer travel is being given priority this year in the ministry's considerations. However, it will be some time before the effects of that attention will show. These projects rely basically on the availability of investments. They are not merely decrees. I do believe, however, that in the next 2 or 3 years there will be a clear surge in the tourism sector when the construction that we had planned is completed. This year we have al-'Arish Hotel which has been

inaugurated, and there are two hotels in Ismailia which will be inaugurated next October. There is also a number of hotels that were built in Alexandria this year. For example, the capacity of Sidi 'Abd-al-Rahman\* has been doubled. There is a study [underway] on a number of projects in Marsa Matruh and in Sidi 'Abd-al-Rahman. God willing, the results of that study will appear in the summer of 1985.

Egyptian banks will also contribute to the establishment of a huge corporation whose capital will be 100 million pounds. This corporation will be engaged in construction [projects] on beaches. Last Saturday I was in a meeting about that subject with the minister of the economy and people concerned with construction and tourism. But I do not want to talk about this project now; I'll talk about it after it is implemented. I'm not used to talking about any projects but those which have actually been completed.

There is also a large construction effort [underway] in the Red Sea and in Sinai. There is the tourist village of Badr and a tourist center in al-Ghardaqah which adds 700 rooms [to those that are already there]. Implementation of this project will last several years. There are also eight investment companies that have come forward with projects and construction for tourists south of al-Ghardaqah. There are also three other projects for tourists in al-'Ayn al-Sukhnah. Some of these projects will be completed by the end of 1983, and others will be completed during 1984 and 1985. Implementation of all these projects has actually begun.

#### Sinai and the Industry of Marketing Tourism

[Question] We've talked a great deal about tourist areas in Sinai and about more plans to utilize those areas. So far, however, we have not succeeded in doing that. What is your explanation for this failure?

The minister sat up in his chair, and then he spoke with verve.

[Answer] As far as south Sinai is concerned, I believe that no logical person could expect us to take establishments that had been managed for many years by Israel in April of last year and then fill those establishments with tourists in the same year or in the following year. Maintenance must be carried out in those establishments, particularly since Israel turned them over to us in very poor condition. There are also international marketing operations involved here. During the 1982-1983 season we were unable to market [our services] for that season in the wake of the biased campaign that had been carried out by the owners of those hotels before they were turned over to us. Marketing in international tourism is done at least 6 months before the season. Therefore, in my judgment, it will take two more seasons before tourist interest in that region is restored and that region becomes one that is associated with tourism in Egypt.

Nevertheless, what happened in that period is that during the first 6 months occupancy in the hotels of south Sinai was from 10 to 15 percent. In the following

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\* Translator's note: Sidi 'Abd-al-Rahman is not in Alexandria. It is a coastal village for tourists west of Alexandria and east of Marsa Matruh, near al-'Alamayn. Exact mileage is unknown.

6 months that percentage rose to 45 percent. It is to be noted that most of the guests in those areas were young Egyptians. This is a wonderful [development] that affirms the attachment young people have to their country and their desire to know more about it. But from an international standpoint I believe that we will not be on the international map [as a tourist attraction] before three seasons. It is my judgment that if we are able to get 30 percent of the tourists next season, we will have actually succeeded. But we are always rushing results, and the matter needs a little patience. We do not deny the fact that at the present time there are drawbacks and some obstacles pertaining to maintenance, operations, management and supply operations. We are now in the process of correcting all of this.

[Question] Your excellency, you spoke about drawbacks and obstacles that exist now in implementing maintenance projects and operations in the district of south Sinai. Who in your opinion is responsible for that?

[Answer] This is not the error or responsibility of one person in particular. But what happened is that Egypt tried to regain the land at any cost. The condition of this area was very poor when we took it over. Air conditioning sets, kitchens, sanitary drainage connections and water pipes were not operational. Over 1 million pounds were spent on repairs, renovation and maintenance. We must also remember that Egyptians had not set foot into these areas since 1967. Also from 1956 till 1967 this area was occupied by UN forces. Before 1952 Egyptian citizens were not allowed into those areas without special permits. These matters must be taken into consideration when we talk about travel in south Sinai.

#### A Tourism Festival in Egypt

[Question] What about the governorates' tourism festival which is to be held for the first time next September from the 2nd to the 8th of the month? What new ideas will this festival offer tourism in Egypt?

[Answer] We are now trying to encourage the largest number of governorates to take part in this conference through which each governorate can clarify [and point out] its own tourist attractions, such as antiquities, popular arts and folklore. We hope that all of Egypt's governorates will take part in this festival so it can be as successful as we expect it to be. This festival can thus become a regular, annual event.

8592

CSO: 4504/565

LIBYA

ISLAMIC CALL COUNCIL ISSUES STATEMENT

LD221104 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1730 GMT 22 Oct 83

[Text] Tripoli, 21 Oct (JANA)--The International Islamic Call Council concluded its second session in Tripoli today, which lasted for 4 days.

The council issued a statement calling on all Islamic societies to draw the attention of the Muslim masses to the danger of the new crusade campaign in which U.S., French, British and the isolationist Phalangist forces are taking part in a war against Muslims in Lebanon. It stressed the need to compile a complete program to spread information and facts about these crusaders, plans among all Islamic circles and Muslims in the diaspora so that they bring these facts and information to the attention of the whole world. It pointed out that the duty of Muslims impels them to declare a jihad to defend their homes and sacred shrines.

The council's statement draws the attention of Islamic public opinion to current Islamic issues that have resulted from colonialism, the crusade, exploitation and enslavement. It underlined the duty of Islamic organizations and the Muslim masses to liberate these Muslim societies. It urged a declaration of jihad on (?all) fronts to help the Palestinian people who are engaged in jihad to recover their usurped land and violated freedom, and to help the Muslims to retrieve their usurped holy Islamic shrines.

The council affirmed the need for the Muslim masses to apply the principle of consultation and to take God's shari'ah as an arbiter so that justice and equality may be realized in Islamic societies.

The international Islamic Call Council also highlighted the need to pay attention to Muslim minorities who are dominated by the forces of evil and tyranny, minorities such as the Negroes and Red Indians in America.

The statement affirmed the need to pay attention to and strengthen Islamic information by all material and moral means so that it can carry out its full role in the battle against the blackout of information concerning Islamic issues and the distortion and falsification by anti-Islamic and Muslim propaganda. It also urged enlightening the Islamic masses about social, economic and political issues concerning them, urging them to realize social justice,

to wipe out poverty and illiteracy, to undertake education plans and artistic and technical specialization.

At the end of its statement the International Islamic Call Council warned against the danger of some societies and organizations working in the field of Islamic call becoming involved in factional and sectarian disputes. It called on the preachers of the call and the Islamic societies to adhere to the religion of God.

It also called on Islamic societies, organizations and unions to intensify their efforts with regard to selecting preachers and imams in mosques, as they play an important role in the field of the Islamic call.

CSO: 4500/9

TRADE WITH EUROPEAN COMMUNITY REVIEWED

Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE in French 30 Sep 83 p 7

[Text] The negotiations which Morocco will undertake with the CEE this October are of cardinal importance. The natural market for Moroccan products must be protected and respect for the 1976 accords must be ensured. The fact is that the advantages of those agreements have steadily deteriorated and if the status quo is maintained, they will be totally undermined by the expansion of the EEC to include Spain.

What has happened in the past 20 years emphasizes the danger threatening Morocco. The following is a description of the situation as it has developed over the years preceding the conclusion of the cooperation agreement and the period thereafter.

Citrus Fruits

Since 1970, there has been a decline in Moroccan exports to the EEC and a spectacular increase in the sale of Spanish oranges. At that time, Morocco exported nearly 400,000 tons of citrus fruits to the EEC and Spain sold only 120,000 tons.

In 1980, Moroccan exports fell to 350,000 tons, while Spain's figure exceeded a million.

The trend can be explained by several factors:

- 1 -- The EEC lowered tariffs for Spain in 1979, which allowed Spanish oranges to be competitive.
- 2 -- These advantages were helped by the considerable increase in packing and transport costs which Morocco's citrus fruits cannot avoid, while Spanish products can be practically exported in bulk by train or truck.

One can therefore measure the extent of the difficulties that would beset Morocco's citrus fruits after Spain's admission to the EEC. Not only will it enjoy preferential tariffs compared with Morocco, but it will be able to use the different clauses provided for against our fruit, particularly the "rehabilitation bonus," which in the long run will enable Spain to develop its plantations and enjoy support to open up markets outside the EEC and drive Moroccan products out.

## Early Vegetables

With respect to early vegetables, Morocco has continued to put its potatoes and tomatoes on the French market duty-free, but a schedule strictly limits the size of these quotas, which scarcely extend past the date of 1 May.

Under such conditions, Moroccan exports, which were on the order of 250,000 tons in 1970, dropped to around 110,000 tons in 1981. As in the case of citrus fruits, the drop helped Spain and in the near future, EEC markets will no longer be accessible to Morocco's early vegetables.

## Canned Fruits and Vegetables

The conditions set for canned fruits and vegetables have changed a great deal. Based on the 1976 agreement, the international company Heinz set up a very large industrial unit in Kenitra for making ketchup. This plant is now closed because of EEC restrictions on imports of the product. All exports of tomato concentrate have been halted.

Nevertheless, despite this unfortunate affair, canned fruit and vegetable exports have improved slightly in the past 10 years.

## Wine

The advantages offered by the French contingent have disappeared. It is true that France has banned imports of wines for diluting and the EEC now accepts a meager quota of 50,000 hectoliters duty-free for local bottled wine. In addition, another quota of 10,000 hectoliters was granted for bulk wine.

## Canned Fish

Canned fish other than sardines and tuna are accepted duty-free by the EEC.

With respect to canned tuna, Moroccan products enjoy a 50-percent reduction in duties.

A total 14,000 tons of sardines are admitted duty-free and another 6,000 tons require 10 percent of the duties. But that quota is not used because importers could not import the same product at two different prices.

Furthermore, delays in bookkeeping for the duty-free quota prevent importers from being assured of a share during the season. Under such conditions, they prefer to halt operations when they believe that the quota is going to be filled.

Moroccan exports of canned sardines have evolved as follows in recent years: 1974, 22,620 tons; 1975, 15,130 tons; 1976, 17,060 tons; 1977, 11,020 tons; 1978, 10,950 tons; 1979, 12,100 tons; 1980, 12,440 tons; 1981, 15,700 tons; 1982, 11,300 tons.

It should be noted that the annual needs of the EEC amount to some 35,000 tons, of which Portugal supplies as much as Morocco, the rest being delivered by Spain and other producers. Actually, Spain and Portugal are theoretically capable of supplying all the EEC's needs.

#### Olive Oil

Most Moroccan exports were to be used to upgrade Italian oils sold under the Riviera label.

EEC importers enjoy an economic advantage varying from .5 to 20 ecus per quintal while the Moroccan exporter has an advantage of 20 ecus per quintal.

Nevertheless, Moroccan exports are down sharply as a result of competition from Spain, Tunisia and Turkey.

The expansion of the EEC to include Spain will cause a closing of the EEC market to Moroccan olive oil.

In anticipation of this development, a campaign is underway to encourage the consumption of olive oil on the domestic market, but the price must obviously be close to that of seed oils.

11,464  
CSO: 4519/5

# PRODUCTION OF CITRUS FRUIT REVIEWED

Rabat ALMAGHRIB in French 30 Sep 83 p 2

[Text] Morocco's total citrus fruit production this year was 958,000 tons, compared with 1,002,000 tons for 1981-1982, a drop of 4.4 percent. The drop essentially stems from the reduction in harvests of clementines, late oranges and also navel oranges.

Appendix I [not reproduced] shows the distribution of production by variety and region.

As in previous years, our Association's experts have been concerned with estimates of harvests and we have therefore participated actively in the meetings of the National Commission on Harvest Estimates.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that the climate during the 1982-1983 season seriously upset the work of the commission, which had to follow the evolution of harvests very closely, particularly through actual visits to plantations and the different regions in order to update and correct estimates of production and exports.

Finally, it should be recalled that in order to improve our estimating techniques and within the framework of SASMA [expansion unknown], we asked Dr Winter, an internationally known expert on crop evaluation, to help us. Dr Winter gave a lecture and then joined with technicians from different professions to visit growing areas in order to demonstrate his method.

Climate conditions during the 1982-1983 season and the drought had an unfavorable effect on production in all regions, particularly in Souss, Marrakech, the East and Beni-Mellal, which suffered a major drop in rainfall compared with 1981-1982, which already had a shortage. Total precipitation by 30 June was 76 mm in Marrakech in 1982-1983, compared with 284 mm in 1981-1982; 82 mm in Souss, compared with 284 mm; 196 mm in Beni-Mellal, compared with 434 mm. This situation caused a major drop in the amount of water available in underground water sheets and dams, which in turn led to serious problems with irrigating citrus fruits. In the Souss and Marrakech regions, there was a drop of 10 to 15 percent in the phreatic layer, which hikes producers' costs for digging wells and pumping water that is increasingly scarce and expensive, given the need for ever more powerful pumping equipment and for more and more fuel and electrical power, which are also higher.

Likewise, the water level in many dams has dropped to critical levels, despite the application of rationing. At the Beni El Ouidane Dam, the amount of water available on 30 June 1983 was 147 million cubic meters, compared with 300, while Lalla Takerkoust had 4 million cubic meters compared with 39 million on the same date in 1982, and the Mohammed V Dam had 160 million cubic meters on 15 July 1983 compared with 380 million in 1982.

The worsening of this situation has led our Association to take repeated action at all levels in order to make officials aware of the problem of the water shortage and the need to give priority in irrigation to citrus plantations, given their importance and the fact that they are perennials rather than annual plants. We twice contacted the minister of agriculture and agrarian reform. Likewise, we have repeatedly spoken with the directors of the regional agricultural development offices of the East, Gharb, Tadla and Souss Massa. We also participated in meetings of the Souss regional technical committee, at which the matter of water was discussed several times, particularly in June. However, despite our action, the frequency and amounts advised by our technical departments have not always been followed by our producers because of the water shortage and the resulting rationing. In Berkane, the inadequacy of dam water and the use of wells for irrigation in 1981-1982 resulted in a major increase in the salinity of the soil, which in turn caused trees in many orchards to drop their leaves. In connection with this problem, our Association requested the intervention of the minister of agriculture and agrarian reform. The water shortage and the resulting drought have obviously had an effect on citrus harvests, in both quality (size) and quantity.

Actually, as one can see in the tables [not reproduced], the drop in production of citrus fruits has mainly affected areas with water problems such as Souss (down 44,000 tons of clementines and down 20,000 tons in Moroccan-Late) and Berkane (down 12,000 tons in clementines) and Beni-Bella.

As in previous years, our Association's technical departments, those of the Casablanca head office and the regional offices in Berkane, Ksiri, Sidi-Slimane, Beni-Mellal, Marrakech and Ouled Teima have continued their extension activities and advice to producers in the field of followup and care of orchards. Priority was given this year to the organization of selective picking, irrigation and the dissemination of fruit-producing techniques and improved grading.

As in previous years, the work of our Association's technicians was done in close cooperation with that of our service company SASMA. During the 1982-1983 season, we also took up the question of the renewal and expansion of national citrus groves, as planned within the framework of the Citrus Fruit Action Plan. In this connection, it should be pointed out that the annual rate of plantations since 1980 has varied between 800 and 1,000 hectares a year, or nearly 50 percent of the objective set by the Action Plan. Several reasons explain this situation, particularly the failure to apply incentive measures drawn up by the government in 1980 within the framework of the OCE [Marketing and Export Office] board of directors (credit of 15,000 dirhams per hectare and a subsidy of 3,500 dirhams per hectare). Several times we drew the attention of the authorities to the matter. Within this framework and at the request of the minister of agriculture and agrarian reform, we undertook a survey of

cases of requests from plantations that had not been met. In addition and at the prompting of the minister of agriculture, several meetings in which our Association participated actively have already been held in order to update the Citrus Fruit Action Plan. Work of the commission responsible for the matter is still underway. In this connection, one should recall that we are not only demanding the immediate application of incentives, but also the updating of the amount of the credit and the subsidy in order to take into account the increased costs of new plantations since 1980.

Finally, our Association's economic department took up the matter of updating the cost price of citrus fruits during the 1982-1983 season in order to take into account all the increases in costs, particularly in electricity (up 17 percent), wages (14.75 percent), certain chemical products (potassium nitrate, 29 percent), fuel (6.23 percent), and so on.

The increase in these factors and many others has worsened production charges. In order to enable our producers to maintain the profits of their orchards, we have constantly encouraged our producers to double their efforts to improve yield. Nevertheless, these efforts must be combined with higher prices paid to producers by the OCE as well as on the domestic market.

We have also asked the government to take all necessary measures to halt any increases in prices of products and services used by citrus growers. The latest increase in the price of fuel for agriculture and rumors concerning high fertilizer costs are most pertinent.

11,464

CSO: 4519/8

## MOROCCO

### BRIEFS

ARAB FUND AID--Rabat, 1 Nov (MAP)--A loan agreement was concluded here Monday between Morocco and the Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development (AFSED). The 5.7 million Kuwaiti dinars, about 200 million dirhams, will help finance an agricultural development project in the Loukkos basin (northern Morocco). The project will enable the irrigation of 6,000 hectares as well as the protection of the Loukkos banks against flood. The agreement was signed by Mr Abdellatif Jouahiri, Moroccan minister of finance, and the director and president of the fund's administrative board, Dr Mohamed Imadi. [Excerpts] [LD020549 Rabat MAP in English 1200 GMT 1 Nov 83]

COOPERATION CONVENTIONS WITH IRAQ--Rabat, 28 Oct (MAP)--Morocco and Iraq exchanged here Thursday documents approving the three conventions concluded between the two countries. These conventions concern cooperation between the two countries in the areas of information, culture, sciences and manpower. The documents were exchanged by Mr Abdelhqa Tazi, Moroccan secretary of state for foreign affairs and Mr Mahmoud al Kilani [spelling of name as received], ambassador of Iraq to Morocco. [Text] [LD300604 Rabat MAP in English 1228 GMT 28 Oct]

CSO: 4500/9

## LAND RECLAIMED ALONG JORDAN RIVER

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 10 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by Abraham Rabinovich]

[Text]

JORDAN VALLEY. — Minefields have given way to alfalfa fields and date plantations on some 12,000 dunams along the bank of the Jordan River in a land reclamation project with far-reaching geopolitical implications.

"This is our most important strategic line," said Prof. Ra'anan Weitz, chairman of the settlement division of the World Zionist Organization during a tour of the area. "I see intensive agriculture on both banks of the river in 10 years serving as a guarantor of peace."

Twenty thousand dunams along the river bank, hitherto a military area, have been designated for reclamation. In addition to the 12,000 dunams reclaimed during the past two years, 2,500 dunams are to be readied for agriculture this year.

The reclamation project, the largest since the draining of the Hula Swamp three decades ago, reflects the dramatically changed security situation in the valley since the Jordanians expelled the PLO in September 1970. Prior to that, the valley saw constant skirmishes between infiltrating gangs and the

Israel Defence Forces. Following "Black September," Jordanian farmers began to farm steadily closer to the river.

The land along the river was covered in large part by dense brush, some two metres high. Most of this has been levelled, although patches have been left intact along the river edge at the request of the Nature Reserves Authority. The army is removing vast minefields and reorganizing its defence line to accommodate the riverside agriculture.

Thousands of date palms imported from California will be a mainstay of the region's agriculture, because of their ability to thrive on water with high salinity such as is found there most of the year. These palms, which originated in Algeria, produce higher quality dates than those produced by the date palms of the upper Jordan Valley — whose origin is Iraq and Iran — according to Yehuda Dekel, director-general of the settlement division. Alfalfa, wheat and corn are also being grown, and other crop possibilities are being explored.

## BRIEFS

INCREASED EXPORTS TO BRITAIN--Exports from Israel to Britain during the first 8 months of this year have increased by 10 percent compared with the same period last year and total 214 million pounds sterling. During the same period imports to Israel from Britain increased by 32 percent. However, the balance of trade between the two countries is to Israel's benefit, since it is the second largest supplier to Britain in the Middle East. These details were reported at the opening of talks between Minister of Commerce and Industry Gid'on Pat and a commercial and economic delegation from Britain. The minister of commerce and industry then reviewed the development of Israel's technological exports and said that products of Israeli research and development were sold abroad in 1965 for \$25 million, and today the scale of exports is \$1.5 billion. [Report by Tzvi Zinger] [Text] [TA251320 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 25 Oct 83 p 4]

POSSIBLE POLAND FLIGHT ROUTE--The Polish airliner "Lot" has sent out feelers to "El Al" about the possibility of having a Tel Aviv-Warsaw flight, with a stopover in Europe, through a joint enterprise by the two companies. A senior El Al source confirmed yesterday that the two carriers might launch negotiations, first on a low echelon between branch heads in Europe. Since Poland is very much interested in promoting tourism, "Lot" airline officials have tried to find out whether there is a possibility that El Al would fly passengers headed only for Poland to a European destination first, from where they would be flown to Warsaw by "Lot" aircraft. Now a transit airport is being sought for the combined flight. Various possibilities have been raised in this contact, such as Athens, Istanbul or Zurich. [Report by aeronautics affairs correspondent Dan Arkin] [Text] [TA251615 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 25 Oct 83 p 12]

ABU-HATZIRA STILL MK--The Knesset House Committee has officially decided to take note of MK Aharon Abu-Hatzira in which he undertook not to participate in Knesset activity while he was serving his prison penalty. The meaning of this decision is that Abu-Hatzira remains a Knesset member and it is impossible to appoint anybody in his place. The Knesset Committee's decision was made at the demand of Knesset Members Yosi Sarid and Dov Zakin. [Text] [TA171040 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1025 GMT 17 Oct 83]

E. JERUSALEM EDITOR QUESTIONED--Ibrahim Qara'in, the owner of the Palestinian office for journalistic services and the editor of AL-'AWDAH, which appears in East Jerusalem, was questioned by Jerusalem police today. The decision that was subsequently reached was that he will be charged with publishing instigatory comments against Israel in his weekly. He was later released on bail. Ibrahim Qara'in told our correspondent Arye Gus that he had ceased issuing the banned publication--a daily English-language translation of reports from the local Arab press. He added that he believed the authorities wanted to harm his office and his weekly. [Text] [TA211811 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 21 Oct 83]

FIRE DAMAGES--Kiryat Shmona--A field fire was still raging last night across some 10 kilometres of western and central Galilee between the moshavim of Elkosh and Tzuriel, east and west of Ma'alot. Planes, helicopters and fire engines, assisted by hundreds of volunteers, were still trying to put the fire out at nightfall. Damage to crops and fruit trees were estimated at millions of shekels. Land belonging to the two moshavim and Jewish National Fund land reportedly bore the brunt of the damage. Another fire extinguished late Friday night in Upper Galilee caused an estimated IS20 million of damage to fruit trees of She'ar Yashuv, Dan, Dafna, Hagoshrim and several other settlements. The fire also spread to the cemetery at Dafna. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 10 Oct 83 p 3]

CSO: 4400/35

## BRIEFS

OIL INVESTMENT IN BRITAIN--Kuwait continued its drive to establish an integrated international oil company last week by acquiring a British gasoline distributing company. Pace Petroleum Ltd was taken over by Hays Group Ltd, a subsidiary of the Kuwait Investment Office in London for an undisclosed price in excess of £1 million sterling (\$1.5 million). Pace has a turnover of £50 million sterling (\$75 million) and supplies over 400 service stations in Britain with gasoline. The KIO already owns Sadler & Co Ltd, a similar business which supplies 250 service stations in Britain and which operates 90 tanker trucks. The latest acquisition, although relatively small, represents yet another step towards transforming the Kuwait Petroleum Corporation into a major international oil company. Other acquisitions include the Scandinavian and Benelux operations of Gulf Oil and a substantial shareholding in Hoechst, the West German chemical manufactures, as well as the \$2.5 billion purchase of Santa Fé International Corp, an oil exploration and engineering group. KPC, which is headed by Kuwaiti Oil Minister Sheikh Ali Khalifa al-Sabah, has made no secret of its ambition to develop both upstream and downstream oil operations to enable it one day to stand alongside major international oil companies. In the short term, KPC is also clearly seeking ways of ensuring that Kuwait has sufficient outlets for its own crude oil and refined products in Western markets to meet the country's revenue requirements. In recent years, Kuwait has suffered from low oil sales which have meant both reductions in foreign earnings and shortages of the associated gas Kuwait requires to generate electrical power for local industries and to desalinate sea water. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 40, 3 Oct 83 p 7]

CSO: 4400/34

PROFESSORS DISCUSS EDUCATION IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 17 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by 'Abd-al-Wahab al-Mu'ayyid: "Three Professors in Arab Universities in the Occupied Territories Talk with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: 'What Is Happening in Bir Zayt and Other Institutions Is Being Repeated; It Is a Plan To Isolate Palestinian Intellectuals from the Masses' "]

[Text] A delegation representing Arab universities in the occupied territories arrived in San'a' late last July. The delegation consisted of three professors: Dr 'Ali Zaghab , professor of English literature at al-Najah University in Nabulus; Dr Ahmad Kara'in, professor of linguistics at Bir Zayt University; and Dr Yusuf 'Abd-al-Haqq, chairman of the Department of Economics at al-Najah University in Nabulus.

The delegation was on a mission to meet with university professors in some Arab countries including Yemen. The delegation met with Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Maqalih, president of San'a' University and with the faculty and students of that university. The delegation of three professors described the repression, terrorism and the occasional armed intrusions that Arab universities in the occupied territories are subjected to. They also spoke about the recent expulsions of some professors from those universities.

This delegation is one of several formed in Arab universities in the occupied land. These delegations have been visiting Arab and foreign countries to explain to Arab and international public opinion--chiefly to university professors, scientific organizations and competent international organizations--the terrorist practices that are being perpetrated by the Zionist enemy to shut down universities, expel professors and deny Palestinian Arabs in the occupied land [access to] university education.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT had an opportunity to meet the three professors with whom the following interview was recorded.

[Question] Would you be kind enough to give [our] readers an idea about university education in the occupied land?

[Dr Zaghab ] There are six Arab universities in the occupied land. They are, according to age, Bir Zayt University in Bir Zayt; Bethlehem University in Bethlehem; Al-Najah National University in Nabulus; Jerusalem University in

Jeusalem; the Islamic University of Gaza in the Gaza Strip; and the Islamic University of Hebron in Hebron. These six universities have 12,000 students. The ratio of female students to male students is 45 percent to 55 percent. The number of professors and instructors at these universities is 800.

The idea of establishing these universities began in the seventies. At that time until the early seventies, there were no Arab universities on the occupied land. Bir Zayt University was established in 1972, and its first class graduated in 1976. This was followed by the establishment of the other universities. The presence of these Arab universities in the occupied land has several objectives and provides several services to our citizens in the occupied land.

The principal objective behind the presence of these universities is to establish these numbers of students, professors and administrators in these universities and to stabilize their presence in the occupied areas.

The second objective of these universities is to preserve Palestinian Arab culture and also preserve the Palestinian identity.

#### A Cultural and a Political Center

Another thing these universities are doing in the occupied land is to establish a national, cultural, political, revolutionary center in the occupied region. Our students and our professors in the occupied territories are always spearheading the opposition to vicious Zionist attacks.

On more than one occasion in the past Zionists fired their guns, killed our innocent students, threw tear gas bombs and other noxious [gas] bombs inside classrooms. The most recent such event is that which happened a few days ago in the Islamic University of Hebron. There Zionists entered the campus and fired their guns at random. Three of our young people were killed, and another number was wounded. As a result of such incidents the Israeli military governor would always intervene and order the Palestinian universities shut down. For example, Bir Zayt University was shut down last year for 7 months, and al-Najah University was shut down for 3 months. These practices are part of a long series of Zionist practices that are being perpetrated against our universities and our students in the occupied land. But the one that stands out the most is Zionist Military Order No 854, which came out on 6 July 1980. To the Israelis the aim of this order was to harass and oppress our universities and our students from a legal standpoint or in a legal, military manner.

Dr Ahmad Kara'in spoke about the articles and consequences of that decree. He said, "With regard to Military Order No 854, which was issued in July 1980, the Zionist authorities issued that military order to control the educational process in our Palestinian universities in the occupied land. This military order comprises several decrees among which are [the following]: no university professor may be appointed without the approval of the Zionist military governor, and no student may be admitted to the university without his approval also. Courses of study must be reviewed by an advisory committee in the Zionist authorities before they are approved. Also no university diplomas are to be granted without the signature of the Zionist military governor. Any violation of the public law gives the military ruler the right to prevent [a violator] from setting foot on a university campus.

"In addition to these decrees, there is a document that is part of Military Order No 854. This document asks university professors to pledge that they will not offer any support or assistance to the so-called Palestine Liberation Organization or to any other hostile organization. The fact is that all national forces--associations of engineers, physicians, attorneys, mayors, workers, peasants, university professors and students' unions--joined together in solidarity and rejected that military order. They sent telegrams to all international organizations, universities and Arab organizations asking them to apply pressure on the Zionist entity to suspend that military order. It is a fact that as a result of this united effort, the Zionist enemy suspended implementation of that military order for the time being. It was after the siege of Beirut, which our fighters withstood for 88 days, and after the departure of our fighters from Beirut that the Zionist enemy thought he had dealt a blow to the military organization of our Palestinian Revolution by getting it out of Beirut. So he turned to the occupied homeland and tried to deal a blow to our people's educational and cultural organization by resubmitting Military Order No 854. The Zionist enemy wanted to apply that order to the universities so as to control them and turn them into military schools subordinate to the Zionist enemy."

#### We Opposed the Military Order

"But this military order was opposed in the same way it was opposed the first time even though the first time the Palestinian Revolution still had its active military organization. Also conditions were different even with regard to the general situation. Now, the enemy felt that the Palestinian Revolution had been contained somewhat from a material standpoint, so he went ahead setting forth the military order in stages. The Zionist enemy began with one of the decrees of the military order. The matter of signing the pledge was brought up again, and university professors were asked to sign that pledge or leave the country. They all agreed not to sign that document which consisted of a pledge that they would offer no aid, support or assistance to the Palestine Liberation Organization or to any other hostile organization. Hence, the military governor asked those professors who refused to sign that pledge to leave the country and, consequently, leave their universities.

"And the stage of expatriating professors began."

Dr Yusuf 'Abd-al-Haqq spoke about the universities' active opposition to this decree. He said, "There is no doubt that the Zionist occupation will continue with these measures as long as the occupation itself continues. We view the question of higher education in the occupied homeland as an inseparable part of our national cause. Nothing is more indicative of what I am saying than a statement made by (Israel King), governor of the northern province of occupied Palestine in 1948. King said then, 'We should have let the Arabs remain wood cutters and porters so we can rule them easily. Unfortunately, however, they are educated now.' We also associate the major cause of Palestine with that of the Arab homeland and the Arab nation as a whole, in view of the fact that Zionism has its far-reaching goals. I recall here a statement made by a Yemeni intellectual at one of our meetings after hearing the boastful statement that Begin, the murderer of Dayr Yasin, had made when his army was invading Beirut. Begin had said, 'When the armies of Israel were on the outskirts of Beirut, I was here, looking for my ancestors in Khaybar.' This Yemeni writer or intellectual may have amended the

statement when he said, 'That day is not far away when Begin will come and boast once again that he came here to San'a' looking for his ancestors. In fact, he may do so in the heart of Kuwait or in any other Arab country.' The question then is an integrated and not a fragmented one. Consequently, we set out to talk with our people and our brothers in the Arab homeland so that we can set forth to them a course of action that would enable us to oppose this vicious Zionist attack."

### Three Objectives for Action

"Our plan or our course in that is [as follows]:

"1. To form committees of solidarity and support for universities in the occupied homeland so they can continue the struggle from day to day since the attacks are continuing.

"2. Also one of the objectives of our campaign is to tour the United States and Europe to find centers of support among friends, particularly since what we are asking for is an internationally recognized right: the right to receive an education and to learn. That right was approved by the Geneva Convention; Article 19 of the Geneva Convention affirmed the right of every individual regardless of sex, race and color to get an education and to learn. We also hope to persuade Palestinian professors in Arab universities [in other Arab countries] to take the place of professors who were deported and accept appointments in the Arab universities [in the occupied land]. There is a legal formality that may enable them to resist the Zionist occupation. If they had managed to obtain a green card in 1967, that green card would enable them to resist the Zionist attack more forcefully, and they would have more protection regarding the occupation laws themselves since they were in the territory in 1967 when the occupation took place. There are provisions in the occupation laws themselves that would protect them.

"3. Also one of our objectives is to increase scholarships for Palestinians inside the country so they would make up an army of provisional university professors who would take the place of those who leave, and so on. Also the plan to establish a Palestinian university without walls is one of the avenues that is being proposed to oppose the Zionist operation or the attempted Zionist operation against our people. If a plan of action for all these matters is not drawn up by Palestinian, Arab and friendly organizations in the world, the situation will remain dangerous. I am emphasizing here that what is more important is that intellectuals, writers and journalists be convinced of the importance of university education and the importance of protecting it. Every intellectual is being asked to become a university professor. Every journalist is being asked to touch upon this subject unequivocally and to continue harping on it daily and continuously so we can protect our brothers inside the country. This is a summary of what we hope to achieve.

"Actually, the measures of the expatriation process must be recorded here, as history has recorded such measures in the past, as a mark of dishonor against Zionism for the manner in which it has treated university professors. We were all summoned at once, and we were left in the sun seated on wooden seats. We were then taken indoors to the Zionist officer one at a time. There were about 28 professors from al-Najah University, and we were the first group.

"I am speaking here about my own personal experience. When I went to the officer, he asked me for my residence permit. Then he told me, 'Read this paper and sign it.' When I read the paper and found it to contain infringements on the legitimacy of the PLO and found the document itself to be tantamount to political extortion that ought not to be used against a university professor, I told him I could not sign that paper because it involved intervention in the academic freedoms of university professors. He asked me, 'Don't you want to work in the university?' I said I did. Then he said, 'Then you will have to sign.' I told him, 'I'm sorry, [I can't].' Then he raised his voice and yelled at me sharply and provocatively and said, 'Get out! I know how to make you all sign!'"

"At this point we realized that the occupation authorities were about to take more cruel measures, so we contacted a few attorneys, and we discussed this case with them. The attorneys contacted the military governor who then summoned us from the university. When we went to the military governor, we were met by a Zionist officer who started threatening us and telling us, 'What can the attorney do?' I recall what he said as he walked around us in a provocative and demeaning manner. He said, 'I will force you to do everything I want.' We told him, 'We did not do anything to deserve such treatment.' Then he said, 'You have to leave the country in 24 hours.' We tried to get an extension, and we tried to persuade him and to make him understand [our position]. But he was a rude and arrogant military man. Finally, he ordered us to get into a car and head toward the bridge. There we left to Amman, and we were the first group to be expatriated. What happened with our other colleagues was not less than that; in fact, it may have been worse and more bitter."

#### The Substance of the Document

Dr Ahmad Kara'in spoke about the most important reasons for refusing to sign the document. "The truth is that we felt that the document was asking us to oppose the PLO which symbolizes the struggle of our people. It would be as though we were denying the sacrifices that were made by our Palestinian people. The PLO represents the armed and the real revolutionary dimension of our cause and our people. The PLO is a symbol; it is not just individuals. The PLO is a symbol of the struggle of the Palestinian people.

"When we make a pledge [not] to support this organization, such a pledge would be like an agreement to cooperate with the Zionist authorities. We would be rejecting the revolutionary form and substance of the PLO which has been the expression of the Palestinian people's struggle in all stages of their revolutionary struggle and their survival until victory is achieved with the liberation of all Palestinian national soil. In addition, we would be giving the Zionist authorities a document they can show the world to substantiate their claim that the top class of intellectuals among the Palestinian people consider the PLO a hostile organization. They would remonstrate, 'How can we be expected to deal with that organization when the Palestinians themselves say it is a hostile organization?' They would say that in this document the Palestinians pledge not to support this organization, and this indicates they have no faith in this organization which represents the armed faction of the Palestinian Revolution.

"In addition, this document harms not only the PLO, but it also harms us. How can we, the intellectual class, ask others to accept the efforts we make to make them

aware of the fact that they should not deal with the Zionist authorities? If any student were to come to us, how can we ask that student not to sign another paper or another document? How can we ask merchants, workers and farmers not to sign anything with the Zionist authorities? Our leadership role would end here because we signed. We would not be able to discuss this with any class of people or any individual in society, and we would not be able to tell anyone not to sign any other document or any other pledge to the Zionist authorities.

"Actually, we all finally agreed that the national cause, the homeland and the entire question of the homeland were more worthy [of our attention] than the subordinate question of universities. If matters came to [a choice between] shutting down all the universities or signing this document, we think we would shut down the universities so we can achieve the political objective, which is victory, because the question of citizenship is more important than that of education or of having higher education."

This Is How We Continued Playing the Part

[Question] Dr Ahmad, how were the instructors and students at Bir Zayt University able to continue their education and take their final examinations when the university was closed for 7 months?

[Answer] [You are asking] what happened to the students of Bir Zayt University after it was shut down for 7 months out of an academic year that is basically 9 months long. We actually expected this shutdown at the university; therefore, the professors had held several meetings and had drawn up an emergency plan. We drew up an emergency plan in case the university building were to be shut down so we would know what to do to go on with the educational process outside the walls of the university. This is because we are in an unusual country that is under occupation. We have to find unusual conditions that would be suitable to the present stage we are going through. We drew up a preliminary emergency plan when Zionist authorities began surrounding the university. Then the university was shut down, so we had to continue [our work] outside the university. We were able to reach an interim solution as to how to get the courses to students and how to get students together in various places.

We agreed that all mosques as well as clubs that are affiliated with Palestinian national organizations were to be opened so that there would be enough room for students and so that the university buildings would not become barriers or obstacles to [our] continuing [efforts] to teach. Some of the courses of study were reprinted--these were the ones we had not been able to get out of the university, and they were distributed to all students. Lectures were condensed so that a lecture that used to be delivered at the university in 1 hour [... words missing from the sentence]."

[Question] Dr 'Ali Zaghab, were foreign instructors included in the expulsion decision? How did they react to that decision?

[Answer] Actually, the professors who are being threatened with expatriation are many times more than those who have actually been expatriated. The professors that are under threat of expatriation are Arabs and Palestinians. Some of them are citizens of foreign countries like the United States, Britain, Canada and

Germany. There are also French, British and American professors working in the Arab universities in the occupied homeland. Those too are under the threat of deportation, but so far they have not been deported. We hope they won't be deported, and I do not expect this to happen because of international conditions and as a result of the media campaign we launched in the various Arab countries and in some western countries as well.

I recall, for example, the story of the French language professor at Bir Zayt University. He is a French colleague. When he was threatened with expulsion, the French consul in Jerusalem intervened and sent a letter to the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In that letter the French consul said, 'If the French professor is expelled from Bir Zayt University, all Israeli professors working in French universities will be expelled also. The French government would also ask all French professors who work in Jewish universities in occupied Palestine to return to France.' We also heard that the American consul sent a threat in a lighter tone to the Israeli authorities. Therefore, French and American professors were not deported although a British instructor at the University of Bethlehem was.

#### European Universities Also Condemned this Action

I would add here that the media campaign was not confined to us Arabs. A group of professors in Britain, including professors at the most famous universities there such as Oxford, Cambridge and Durham, signed a document condemning Zionist practices against Arab universities. British professors asked Israeli authorities to renounce the decision to expatriate Palestinian professors and to allow them to return to their universities and their country.

Regarding the support of world public opinion for us in this case, we find that after Military Order No 854 was issued on 6 July 1980, several meetings were held in the Association of Arab Universities and in the Association of World Universities. The Association of Arab Universities condemned that decision and asked UNESCO to interfere to prevent that military order from going through. The Association of World Universities also met in Tokyo in December 1980 and issued a decision calling upon Zionist authorities to renounce that military order. The Association of World Universities asked Israeli authorities not to interfere in the internal affairs of Arab universities.

A decision was also issued by UNESCO in September 1980. Dr Hanna Nasir, who attended the UNESCO meeting, was a member of the PLO Executive Committee and the first Palestinian professor to be expatriated. He was the president of Bir Zayt University, and officially he still is the president of the university. The UNESCO decision condemned the Zionist practices against Arab universities and asked the Israeli authorities to renounce that decree."

[Question] Dr 'Ali, in your opinion, to what extent can the Center for Palestinian Research and Studies make a contribution in this regard at the present time?

[Answer] What happened to the Center for Palestinian Studies and Research in Beirut shows an important side of our struggle with the Zionist enemy. This is the cultural struggle we have with the Zionists. Our struggle with the Zionists

has been a cultural, historical struggle. The part of the struggle that is evident is the military part. It is the only means by which the band of Zionists was able to dominate us. But our civilization and our culture are still Arab and will remain Arab forever.

The Center for Palestinian Studies and Research in Beirut was one of the most important strategic sites which the Zionists had planned to strike and to plunder. It was the first facility to be attacked after the departure of Palestinian forces from Beirut. The Zionists stole all the files, magazines, books and newspapers.

Fortunately, some of the center's documents were on computer, and some of our fellow Palestinian researchers were able to take these materials with them when they were forced to leave Beirut. Because of the importance of these files, maps, manuscripts and books that were in the Research Center, at the present time our brothers in the PLO consider the return of Israeli prisoners of war, who are being held by the PLO, contingent upon the return of these manuscripts, maps and documents.

As to what the Research Center can do for universities after what happened, the Research Center had conducted several private studies on what we would like to do, and that is the plan for a Palestinian university without walls.

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## GOVERNMENT TO REDUCE STAFF 20 PERCENT

Doha GULF TIMES in English 22, 23 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by K.N. Sharma]

[Text]

GOVERNMENT departments in Qatar are drawing up lists of "non-essential" staffs whose jobs could be axed without affecting the efficiency of services in the state.

The lists are to be presented to the civil affairs department in the Ministry of Finance and Petroleum by September 29.

The move, part of an economy measure, envisages reduction of staff by about 20%, given that the introduction of computers and other manpower-saving devices has taken effect. But the government has not set any hard-and-fast rule compelling all departments to cut staff strength to this extent.

Heads of departments have however been urged to review existing staffing and suggest posts and duties which could be either amalgamated or abolished "without affecting efficiency."

The move is also a part of Qatarisation programme. Qatari staff will not be affected. On the other hand, Qataris will replace expatriate staff.

In the Engineering Services Department where at least 200 expatriates are to lose jobs, Qataris are to fill in more than half a dozen senior posts.

But Mr Khalid al-Khater, director of ESD, said the lay-off will not take place immediately. "It will be by the year-end or maybe early next year", he said.

In the Interior Ministry, which polices security and safety of life and property (besides administration of passports, naturalisation and immigration in the state) the staff whose jobs are made redundant by computerisation are to be largely affected.

Said Sheikh Abdulrahman bin Nasser Jassem al-Thani, director of the Interior Ministry: "We are still considering the matter. We haven't even got lists from concerned authorities."

"But in any case, it is not going to be a large scale retrenchment, by any means. We cannot undermine security," he said.

Sheikh Abdulrahman said humanitarian aspects will be considered in the case of staff affected. "We will consider each case with utmost sympathy. We cannot discharge people uncere-

moniously. Factors, like children's education, family and health problems, will be viewed with sympathy."

A liberal package of service benefits, like gratuity and retrenchment compensation, is promised to every employee who loses his job as part of the economy-cum rationalisation move.

Sheikh Abdulrahman said quite a few senior personnel have left the private sector in Qatar over the past few months, but there were very few such cases in government service.

Expatriates who have returned home from private companies in Qatar have effectively gone on leave without pay. Their resident permits have not been cancelled by their employers or the immigration authorities. This entitles them to return to Qatar, if they wish, before six months at their own or employers' expense.

## CUSTOMS TARIFF REALIGNMENT PLANNED

Doha GULF TIMES in English 2 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by T.M. Anantharaman]

[Text]

Qatar is to bring its customs duty on imported goods up to the uniform 4% across-the-board tariff agreed to by member states of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf.

"This is not a separate increase as such," said Mr Kamal Ali Saleh, commercial adviser to the Emir. The Qatar government is not planning to increase its customs tariff except as already agreed on by member countries of the CCASG.

Speaking to *Daily Gulf Times* last night, Mr Saleh said that Qatar presently levied duty of 2.5% on most imported goods. This would be raised to 4% as already agreed by among CCASG states.

"This revision is to be expected any time between now and the CCASG summit in November. It needs only to be formally ratified by the Cabinet," he stated. Thereafter consumers are likely to pay more for goods imported from outside the Gulf.

He said Gulf Ministers in the committee of finance and economic cooperation had agreed to unify customs duty in member states by applying two basic rules:

To levy a minimum of 4% as customs duty on imported goods from outside the CCASG states; and, secondly, to fix a maximum customs duty of 20%.

There were two exceptions to this general hike of 4%. Last year CCASG countries agreed to levy a 30% uniform Customs duty on cigarettes and tobacco. The other was alcohol, wherein it was decided to raise it from between 50% and 100% depending on the category of item.

The increases in customs duty, it was decided, should be enforced uniformly in member countries effective from September 1, 1983.

"All the Gulf countries have agreed, but not all states have begun applying this from September 1," Mr Kamal Saleh said. "Qatar and the United Arab Emirates have not enforced the decision so far but are expected to do so any time".

Mr Saleh denied that the revision of customs duty was an attempt to shore up revenues of member states. The measure was to "unify customs duty so that a united Gulf stand is made against imports from the outside world," he said.

"The cross border trade will continue. Our efforts have been to obviate the difficulties of member states," he added.

Presently customs duty levied on general imports by member countries are as follows: United Arab Emirates 1%; Sultanate of Oman 2%; Qatar 2.5%; Saudi Arabia 3%; Kuwait 4% and Bahrain 5%.

According to Mr Saleh, anomalies will be removed with the unified customs levy, with member states allowed some leeway in specific cases.

CONSTRUCTION SLOWDOWN SEEN

Doha GULF TIMES in English 15, 16 Sep 83 p 32

[Text]

Work on the Women's Hospital and General Post Office is also progressing.

He said bills worth a total of QR300m which had not been paid to contractors in his department are being released. The total bills pending with the government amount to about QR500m. It is hoped that by the month-end all would be paid.

Mr Al-Khater said that until 1980 Qatar had been through a "boom". "But no country could keep up that boom for ever. We initiated a slowdown in mid-1981. But many people did not feel it", he said.

QATAR is putting off most of its major building projects this year, says Mr Khalid al-Khater, director of Engineering Services Department in the Ministry of Public Works.

Mr Al-Khater told *Weekly Gulf Times* that the postponement is part of a planned slowdown which "gives us time to think, plan and coordinate" development.

Projects axed during the year include ministerial complex in West Bay, demolition and reconstruction of Khalifa Olympic Stadium and zoo extension.

However, the government is to press on with some infrastructural projects in West Bay and south of D Ring Road during the year, the ESD chief said.

Mr Al-Khater said the budgetary cut this year did not essentially affect his department's work. Work is going ahead and nearing completion on sewage treatment plant, effluent pipeline, fire brigade headquarters, sports clubs, and seven schools.

CSO: 4400/38

## BRIEFS

LABOR VISAS CURBED--Qatar is to follow a stricter policy on labour visas but make it easier to get family visas, according to Sheikh Abdulrahman bin Nasser bin Jassim al-Thani, director of the Interior Ministry. He revealed that as part of the new policy up to 95% of applications for labour permits are now being rejected. Sheikh Abdulrahman said: "When the country was fast developing, we needed more foreign manpower. But now we are slowing down the pace of development and so reducing the number of visas minimum." Sheikh Abdulrahman said the ministry would now consider every project and the relevance and nature of the company applying for labour visas. This would mean that only essential staffs for new companies really needed for the country would be granted visas. Weekly Gulf Times inquiries show that over the past few months the Interior Ministry has rejected many visa applications from both established and new companies for staff. In many cases the Interior Ministry has insisted on companies recruiting from particular countries. On family visas, the interior director said: "We had been very tight. But now almost 80% of senior staff in the country are getting family visa. There is a relaxation to a limited extent for senior employees; but not for those who present fictitious applications as senior officers," he said. Sheikh Abdulrahman said some companies try to mislead his ministry in family visa matters by giving false certificates about their employees designation, salary and accommodation. "In such cases we try to check on facts confidentially," he said. [Text]  
[Doha GULF TIMES in English 15, 16 Sep 83 pp 1, 32]

CSO: 4400/38

## SYRIA

### SYRIAN DEFENSE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON CRISIS IN LEBANON

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Oct 83 p 17

[Interview with Gen Mostafa Talas, Syrian minister of defense date and place not specified]

[Text] Syria is the sole Arab country standing in the trenches of the military confrontation with the Zionist enemy. The United States, Zionism and their mercenaries in the region are bringing the heaviest pressure to bear on Syria. In light of the region's developments, the Lebanese war and the ignominious agreement between the Phalangist faction's regime and the Zionist enemy, we resolved to raise our questions in this area with Gen Mostafa Talas, Syrian minister of defense since 1970. The summary of the interview follows:

[Question] What is your view of Israel's partial pullback in Lebanon?

[Answer] We see this pullback as part of a conspiratorial plan, since Israel's partial pullback means a re-deployment of Israeli forces in various areas of Lebanon. Tel Aviv's rulers have designated which areas. Israel wants to take control of these areas in order to incorporate them as part of greater Israel. This kind of withdrawal also reduces the casualties of the Israeli forces to a minimum possible level. Israel's partial withdrawal from some Lebanese areas and its delivering them over to the Phalangist's quasi-military, sectarian government will cause Israel's control of the Chouf and Jabal Lebanon to continue, since the Phalangist's sectarian government will become a shield protecting Israel's security.

Thus Israel's withdrawal will cause a consolidation of Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, the imposition of a compromising agreement by resorting to force, and the transformation of southern Lebanon into a 100 percent Israeli colony.

[Question] If the Lebanese Government gives guarantees for the protection of your borders, will you withdraw from Lebanese soil, and if there are changes in the compromising agreement, will you accept it?

[Answer] The Lebanese regime is not capable of preserving its own borders, so how can it give us guarantees for the protection of ours?

The withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon depends on the end of that country's occupation by Zionist, imperialist forces, and the return of Lebanon's Arabness, unity and right of ownership [sic]. We cannot accept the compromising agreement as long as it ties the hands and feet of Lebanon and turns it into a U.S. and Israeli colony, regardless of any changes, because our nation does not approve it and it is unacceptable to us.

[Question] McFarlane is trying to get you to agree to withdrawing your forces from Lebanon. Are some Arab circles bringing pressure on you to withdraw Syria's forces?

[Answer] When McFarlane visited Syria, he tried to convince Hafiz Al-Assad, the president, of the necessity of a solution to the Lebanese crisis. But Syria's intention was stated by the president when he said that if there were a chance for a solution, a unconditional withdrawal by Israel's forces must take place first and then the compromising agreement must be completely nullified. Only then would Syria act to withdraw its forces from Lebanon, because the presence of some Syrian forces originates from national interests and a firm, fundamental principle which is the defense of the Lebanese nation and country.

As for Syria and brother Arab countries, we have stressed in our political activities the necessity of strengthening the position of the Arab countries and struggling against the compromising agreement and defeating it. If we have had contacts with some Arab sides, it does not mean that Syria has deviated from the nationalist line to which it adheres and which springs from thorough devotion to the independence, security and sovereignty of Lebanon.

[Question] What is your view of the so-called national reconciliation in Lebanon, and will it take place?

[Answer] Achieving reconciliation in Lebanon is the best solution to returning that country to its natural state, and it is only by achieving this reconciliation that unity of word and unity in the ranks can be reached, so that all stand together to confront the dangers facing the Arab nation.

It is obvious that the Lebanese sectarian government, which is an appendage of the Phalangist bands supported by Zionism and imperialism, is obstructing the achievement of national reconciliation. This is because Lebanese reconciliation will transform it into a united, Arab, powerful country opposing the supremacy of one group over it, and this is contrary to the goals of Israel, the Phalangists and the imperialists United States. But the national groups keeping in mind Lebanon's interests, unity and Arabness will eventually triumph over the enemies of the Arab nation, and the occupying, aggressive forces will be helpless. Lebanon will stand strong and united against the dangers.

[Question] Some reports indicate that there are still relations between Damascus and Beirut. Will talks with Beirut be restarted?

[Answer] As soon as the United States began its policy of drawing the Lebanese Government into the trap of plans demanding surrender, Syria gave warning of the consequences of such plans. As soon as the factionalist government signed

the compromising agreement with Israel, aided by the United States, Syria cut off all communication with the Lebanese Government, while it preserved its ties with the progressive, national forces and the Lebanese nation.

Any sort of constructive talk with Beirut will only be possible if the compromising agreement is cancelled, if the national forces are summoned to the struggle against the occupiers, if those persons cooperating with the Zionist enemy are exposed, if the efforts being made to gain supremacy are condemned, and finally, if the Lebanese army carries out its real duty which is the defense of the country.

[Question] What action will Syria take if Israel starts a war against it, and does Syria have the power to reply to such aggression?

[Answer] The Syria leadership constantly keeps in mind the clear reality that under suitable circumstances Israel will try an extensive aggression against Syria in order to achieve its aggressive goals. This aggression will take place in light of the fact that Syria's determined opposition to the compromising agreement is the major obstacle to the plans for Washington and Tel Aviv for control of the region. Here I must say that Syria's armed forces possess advanced weaponry and the necessary training and experience, and the individual Syrian combatant possesses excellent morale and unshakeable belief. Our armed forces believe in their power to fight the Israeli enemy, to defend Arab territory and honour, and to free their own territory grabbed by the enemy.

[Question] What is your view of the maneuvers which took place recently with the cooperation of some Arab regimes, and their danger to the region?

[Answer] The maneuvers that took place recently in Egypt, Somalia, Oman and the Sudan in which the armies of the abovementioned countries and the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force took part, are in indication that the United States is trying to impose its aggressive policy on the region, to support Israel and guarantee its existence, to strike blows against national liberation movements, and to support the tools that U.S. policy bring into action.

World public opinion condemned the U.S.'s provocative military movements because these maneuvers are considered dangers to international peace and security.

Syria rejected these actions, and stressed the necessity of concentrating the resources of Arab and friendly countries in order to stand up against the selfishness of the United States and its tools in the region, no matter what the price.

[Question] What is the status of Syrian forces now? Is their status better than that of 1975, when they entered Lebanon?

[Answer] The Syrian leadership was able to gain everything that its armed forces lost during the Lebanese war, and to modernize its weaponry. It did this within the framework of its balanced strategic plan, utilizing Syria's

potential resources, and with the help of friendly countries, particularly the Soviet Union. Syria is now ready to answer any aggression within the framework of its broad military strategy.

[Question] How do you see Saddam's fate in light of the war he started against the Iranian Islamic revolution?

[Answer] Saddam's war against the Iranian Islamic revolution is carrying out the wishes of his imperialist and Zionist masters. The war began when the Islamic revolution announced its all-out resistance supporting the just ideals of Palestine.

This war also kept the Iraqi army on the eastern front, far from the scene of battle, just as Sadat on the western front kept the Egyptian army far from the battle of the Arab nation after he signed the Camp David Agreements.

In any case, anyone who betrays the ideals of our nation will suffer an evil fate.

9597

CSO: 4640/6

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

BRIEFS

FOREIGN MINISTRY APPOINTMENTS--Brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium and chairman of the council of ministers, has issued two decrees of the Supreme People's Council Presidium appointing Brother Muhsin Naji Ibn Naji minister plenipotentiary at the Foreign Ministry and brother Taha Ahmad Ghanim ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the CSSR. [Excerpts] [GF160510 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 16 Oct 83]

CSO: 4400/40

NEPAL REPORTEDLY SEEKS PRC, U.S. ASSISTANCE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 6 Oct 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] Nepal is raising the bogey of an insurrection or ethnic violence in its Terai region to seek from China and the US assurances that they would come to its aid if a Sri Lanka type of situation develops in the country.

The visit last month to Beijing of former Prime Minister K N Bista was part of the exercise reportedly initiated by King Birendra and his brother Prince Gyanendra directly. Mr Bista, five times Prime Minister, is trusted both by the Palace and by Beijing, and the King therefore chose him to find out from the Chinese leadership what sort of assistance they would be in a position to give should any eventuality arise.

By all indications, China has been able to reassure the Nepalese government without really taking a posture that may provoke a strong Indian reaction. That in fact is in conformity with their pronouncements on the Sri Lanka situation which stop short of provoking an angry rejoinder.

The External Affairs Ministry is still evaluating the full import of the Bista visit to China. The visit itself had been on the cards for some time, but the timing is intriguing. Mr Bista was in China just before the visit of US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

Mr Weinberger, who went to Beijing, Islamabad and Colombo repeated almost exactly the journey of Dr Henry Kissinger in the Nixon regime when the Washington-Beijing-Islamabad axis was forged against India. It was almost expected that he would break his journey at Kathmandu too, completing the 'circle' around India.

The US Defence Secretary did not stop at Kathmandu, but there was hardly any need for him to do so as King Birendra himself is scheduled to make a state visit to the US--his second since coming to the throne. That would provide ample opportunity for him and the US leaders to discuss the South Asian situation and Nepal's anxieties.

The King's Washington visit is the first of any Head of State from the region since the crises in Pakistan and Sri Lanka with the political turmoil and anti-government mass movements. None of them went to New York for the

informal summits called by Mrs Indira Gandhi as chair-person of the Non-Aligned Movement. While Sri Lanka President Jayewardene had written Mrs Gandhi expressing his inability to come, President Zia had first publicly announced he would go, but then did not make the trip because of the escalating struggles of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy.

Nepal has shown itself extremely sensitive to the happenings in Sri Lanka and the press, largely anti-Indian, as also various public personalities carried on a sharp campaign against New Delhi, often repeating the Sinhala refrain that Tamil leaders were hiding in or operating from Indian soil.

For itself, it fears troubles in the Terai region where there have been rumblings in the people who have increasingly started protesting against the treatment they are getting from the Capital. Corruption is running rampant in the country, and even court circles which were once beyond open public criticism are coming for increasingly sharp review at gatherings of people. Smuggling has become the most popular pastime of petty officials and powerful politicians, according to reports

In the Terai region, whose fertile lands provide much of the revenue, there is growing protest at the lack of developmental investment and activities and the people are said to be openly talking of exploitation by the powerful cliques of the Capital. There is little organisation in the movement, and the Janwadi Mukti Morcha led by Ram Rajo Prasad Singh is said to among the few organisations that exist. Singh has gone to jail a few times for his utterances, it is reported.

There has been repression in the Terai region, and last year many people were beaten up for not speaking Nepalese and insisting on using the local Hindi dialect. Significantly, the action against Indian traders and peddlars in the Kathmandu valley coincided with the ethnic violence in Sri Lanka, as indeed did the publication of Gurung commission on population which recommends a gradual closing of the border and the introduction of the passport-visa system between the two countries.

CSO: 4600/1109

## GANDHI HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE ON RETURN FROM UN

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 5 Oct 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] MRS INDIRA GANDHI RETURNED HOME AFTER A FORTNIGHT-LONG TOUR OF EUROPE AND THE UNITED NATIONS, HAPPY AT THE SUCCESS OF THE INFORMAL SUMMITS OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT THAT SHE CHAIRED AT NEW YORK, BUT GRIM OVER THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN THE REGION AROUND INDIA.

'We are surrponded,' Mrs Gandhi told newsmen at the airport soon after she disembarked from Air India's Annapoorna. The situation in the neighbourhood, which was full of conflicts and violence, was not good for India. In Sri Lanka, people of Indian origin were affected and Pakistan was being armed with a new generation of weapons

Mrs Indira Gandhi expressed her apprehensions at the visit that US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger made to Beijing, Islamabad and intriguingly to Colombo. While India, she said, would wait and see as to what transpired there, it was evident that Mr Weinberger seemed to have been given US support to the Sri Lanka Government.

When there was a tension as existed in Sri Lanka, Mrs Gandhi said, the need was to do and say things which would lessen it. For its part, India had offered its good offices so that the tension could be lessened. Mrs. Gandhi could not immediately say as to when her special envoy G Parthasarathy would go to Colombo to continue his efforts for a dialogue between President Jayewardene and the Tamil leaders.

Mrs Gandhi agreed with a questioner that the Weinberger visit and other developments recently had revived the Washington-Beijing-Islamabad axis. But, she added such an axis has always existed. History had given its verdict on the moves at the time of Mr Richard Nixon and his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. History would make its judgment again, she added.

Mrs Gandhi was in a relaxed mood, and after greeting her Cabinet colleagues, diplomats and others in the long receiving line at the airport's technical area, leisurely answered newsmen's questions on her Europe tour, on the UN General Assembly. Mr Reagan's statements against some countries of the non-aligned movement and on the two sessions that she chaired of Heads of State and Government at New York.

They were a success beyond what had been imagined before going to New York. The number was just right for the informal and frank discussions, and even those who came to New York but did not participate had made it a point to be at the UN to be at hand and available to the world leaders, she pointed out without mentioning Mrs Margaret Thatcher or Mr Reagan's name. Both were in New York, but kept away from the informal summits called by NAM.

The emphasis was correctly on global economic and political crises, Mrs Gandhi said, and on what needs to be done. No formal statements were adopted. As for follow up action, she said, she would inform all the leaders who could not attend the deliberations and discussions at New York. Their reaction would also be known. As it was, all the continents, all shades of opinion and all groups were represented at the meetings.

Mrs Gandhi admitted that there were differences of opinion, but that was bound to be in the wide spectrum of political thought represented at the meetings. But everyone, she said, was agreed that things would have to be done.

Answering a question if the US stand at the UN and the IMF showed a toughening of the Reagan administration's position, Mrs Gandhi said it did portend problems for the developing countries. The developed countries should however understand that they too would be affected if the developing nations were hit.

Mrs Gandhi emphasised the need to strengthen the United Nations systems for a world forum was required where nations could come and discuss their issues.

Referring to Mr Reagan's attack on the non-aligned movement, Mrs Gandhi said this was a sentence in his speech, and then it was not an attack on the entire movement but on some countries. An adequate answer had been given at the same forum itself.

The non-aligned movement had come in for criticism from both groups, thereby proving its non-aligned character.

A correspondent referred to the fact that the Reagan statement was one of a series of provocations beginning with the US representative's tirade against the NAM and the suggestions that the UN itself should be removed from US territory. Commenting on the suggestion that the UN headquarters could be shifted elsewhere from New York, Mrs Gandhi said 'it is out of question.'

Asked if her statement abroad on India being not using nuclear energy for anything but peace worked out for all times the country exercising the nuclear option, Mrs Gandhi said she had answered the question many times in Parliament and elsewhere. The Indian policy was well known. To another question, she said she did not discuss nuclear cooperation between Indian and France in her Paris talks with President Francois Mitterrand.

Referring to Pakistan, Mrs Gandhi said that President Zia had made no response to her appeal for the release of ailing Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan from jail.

The Prime Minister said that President Zia's reply, which was given to her during her stay in New York, did not reply to her point about Badshah Khan.

Pakistan had released the text of the letter even before it reached Mrs Gandhi in a diplomatic impropriety that was widely commented upon in the Indian and foreign press.

Mrs Gandhi and Indian spokesmen during the New York visit had refuted President Zia's charge that India was interfering in the internal affairs of his country.

CSO: 4600/1111

## PRESS REPORTS, COMMENTS ON IMF, WORLD BANK MEET

## Indian Delegate's Speech

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Sep 83 p 9

[Text]

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28.

India today hit out against "retrograde" steps like the scaling down of access to International Monetary Fund facilities which, its delegation leader Dr. Manmohan Singh said, would only strengthen "contractionary impulses" in the world economy.

Dr. Singh told the annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank that India could not endorse the proposal in the IMF Interim Committee for the scaling down of the present access limits so sharply because developing countries were already in a dismal situation.

He also listed other trends to the detriment of developing countries like the failure to provide IDA (soft-lending arm of the World Bank) with adequate funds, the low level of Official Development Assistance and the reluctance of commercial banks to expand their commitments.

At a time when recovery in major industrial countries appeared to be feeble, when prospects for world trade remained highly uncertain and when the reserves of developing countries could no more take any further knocks, it was imperative that IMF should refrain from taking any action which would deny developing countries the much-needed liquidity, Dr. Manmohan Singh said.

The Interim Committee's efforts to scale down the access limits to drawings from the enlarged facility of the fund were "fraught with danger".

**Uncertain prospects:** "Moreover, given the highly uncertain prospects for the international economy" it would be most regrettable if IMF were to think in terms of tightening or reducing the scale of assistance provided, through its special facilities, like compensatory financing.

Referring to the conditions in developed countries, including mass unemployment, Dr. Singh said while everything should be done to curb inflationary expectations, "we must find more humane and rational mechanisms other than mass unemployment to 'discipline' the working class".

**Improvement:** Dr. Singh said there had

recently been some improvement in the external environment implied by lower interest rates and some recovery in primary prices, but even then, on the best estimate, the growth of the developing countries in 1983 would still be considerably lower than the average for the Seventies and perhaps smaller than the increase in population.

The Eighties were likely to be a decade of slow growth. Protectionist pressures in developed countries would probably grow. "Developing countries cannot therefore rely on the trickle down effects of growth in the developed countries to sustain the momentum of their own growth".

Against this sombre background, the leader of the Indian delegation said, simultaneous action was needed to speed up the pace of recovery in developed countries, to ensure that it was deep and wide enough to materially influence the rate of growth of world trade and in the meantime also to provide the developing countries enough liquidity and development assistance so that they could sustain a minimum acceptable level of growth in the face of current uncertainties.

Cooperative international action would sustain and enhance the import capacity of the developing countries in the current difficult situation and that would in itself make a substantial contribution to sustaining recovery in the industrial countries.

**Interest rates:** Dr. Manmohan Singh suggested, as part of a concerted global strategy to reverse the present unfavourable tide, greater macro economic coordination among the major industrial countries so that both interest rates and exchange rates would cease to be as volatile as they had been in recent years.

No less urgent was the task of providing more effective mechanisms for meeting the pressing liquidity needs of the developing countries. If adequate financing was not forthcoming, developing countries would be faced with an acute crisis which could lead to a situation of widespread default of private debts.

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Sep 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

The decision by the IMF's policy-making interim committee to reduce borrowing countries' access to its funds drastically was not unexpected. Ever since the phenomenal increase in its lending to the most heavily indebted countries last year, the IMF has been threatened with bankruptcy. Today it is for all practical purposes already bankrupt. The U.S. congress has still to approve of the increase in that country's contribution to the IMF under the 8th quota review, and the six billion dollars that the IMF had hoped to borrow from the European members of OECD, Japan and Saudi Arabia, to maintain its enlarged access programmes is nowhere in sight. As a result the managing director, Mr. Jacques de Larosiere, has had no option but to suspend the operations of the Fund. Indeed, not only is the IMF no longer signing new agreements, but it is reviewing some SDR 2.7 billion worth of current commitments also. In these circumstances, the reduction of the normal access to borrowers from 150 per cent of their quotas to 102 per cent is not merely unavoidable but of little immediate significance. Even so, the formal decision to curtail access is profoundly shocking. It finally brings the curtain down on the era of growing international cooperation in trade and finance that began at Bretton Woods in 1945. What is more, it rings the death knell of the IMF itself. In his dissenting note to the interim committee's decision, Dr. Manmohan Singh has rightly pointed out that the decision to reduce normal access (and with it, inevitably, the enlarged access programme) and to curtail compensatory finance facilities (borrowing against shortfalls in export earnings) put the IMF in reverse gear. But if anything, this is too mild a statement. The IMF has been in reverse gear for the last fifteen years. In 1966-70 the sum total of the country quotas was 84 per cent of the sum total of the member nations' balance of payments discrepancies in those years. By 1976-80 this had sunk to 27 per cent. In the same way, the IMF's share in the annual flow of funds to meet balance of payments deficits had shrunk to a mere 1.4 per cent in 1981. What the reduction in access therefore expresses is the formal, if tacit, decision of the rich nations spearheaded by the U.S., to start winding up the organisation.

The most frightening aspect of the current situation is that there is nothing that can fill the gap. The Reagan administration is so intent on wrecking the present system that it has not spared a thought to what will replace it. The only candidates, the private banks, have withdrawn their nominations. Total syndicated lending, which fell by 40 per cent in 1982, has halved again in the first seven months of 1983. In fact, excluding restructured loans, against a total of \$ 91 billion in January-July 1982, the figure this year is under \$ 41 billion. What will soon follow is not hard to discern. Brazil has already stopped paying interest to its bankers (the repayment of the principal is not even on the cards) and Mexico's interest payments are lagging dangerously. Other countries denied IMF funds and, what is more important, the IMF's seal of approval for the restructuring of their loans will soon join the queue of tacit defaulters. At that point the international payments system will collapse, and the world will re-enter the economic jungle of the 'thirties.

## PAPER REPORTS RAO ACTIVITIES IN NEW YORK

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Oct 83 p 1

[Text]

UNITED NATIONS, Oct. 4.

China has renewed its invitation to the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, to pay an official visit to Beijing. The new Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Wu Xueqian, renewed the invitation during a 35-minute meeting with Mr. Rao here yesterday. His predecessor, Mr. Huang Hua had invited Mr. Rao when he came to India last year.

Both Mr. Rao and Mr. Wu expressed the hope that the talks between the two countries at the officials' level to be held in New Delhi from October 24 would lead to progress on the crucial boundary question.

In the course of a discussion on bilateral matters, the two Ministers are understood to have agreed that previous rounds of talks had clarified each other's position and hoped that it would be possible to make progress on the border issue.

### Vital importance

Mr. Rao is believed to have reiterated India's stand that while bilateral ties needed to be developed, the border issue was of vital significance.

The Chinese Minister renewed an invitation to Rao to visit Beijing. The former Chinese foreign Minister, Mr. Huang Hua had invited Mr. Rao to visit his country when he came to India last year.

The two Ministers also discussed international topics, including economic problems and developing countries and non-aligned movement. The Chinese Minister agreed with the objectives of the non-aligned movement as espoused by the Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi during her visit to the U.N.

Mr. Rao was assisted by Dr. J. S. Teja, Additional Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry and the Chinese Minister by his country's Ambassador at the U.N.

Mr. Rao has had talks with his counterparts from several countries in the past one week. These include the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz. He also had discussions with the Australian Foreign Minister, Mr. William Hayden, largely on the forthcoming

Commonwealth summit in New Delhi.

### Better climate

Mr. Rao told a meeting of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned nations today that India hoped the informal summit meetings of world leaders convened at the initiative of the movement, would lead to initiation of a process to improve the political climate and make it conducive to the solution of pressing world problems.

Mr. Rao said the informal meetings at which Mrs. Gandhi, presided here last week, had proved to be useful. It had been agreed that this dialogue should continue, involving other leaders also.

He told the three-day meeting that, "in spite of different approaches on some issues, leaders displayed a sense of realism and common purpose," in addressing themselves to important issues of human survival and development.

At the outset, Mr. Rao expressed concern at the escalation of hostility between the major powers which, he said, if continued unabated, could reach the "flashpoint" of an "awful conflagration".

He stressed that disarmament must remain high on any international agenda and therefore, called for nuclear disarmament leading to general and complete disarmament.

Turning to urgent world issues, Mr. Rao said the people of Palestine remained without an independent homeland while Israel persisted in its policies of aggression and provocation. Lebanon lived through an uneasy truce.

Mr. Rao referred to the situation in Central America and said that it had become another possible flashpoint. He also expressed concern at great power rivalry in the Indian Ocean and the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Regarding economic issues, Mr. Rao reiterated the demand of the non-aligned movement for fundamental reform in the international monetary and financial system. While the movement had proposed an international conference on money and finance, it remained committed to global negotiations.

## SOVIET DELEGATE TO TOURISM MEET TALKS TO PRESS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 6 Oct 83 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, Oct. 5--Mr Sergei Nikitine, leader of the five-member Soviet delegation to the fifth general assembly of the World Tourism Organization, admitted here today that tourist traffic between the USSR and India was "negligible" and he would be taking up the issue at his next meeting with the Indian Minister for Tourism, Mr Kurshed Alam Khan, who is also the president-select of the WTC.

Addressing a Press conference Mr Nikitine said that in 1982 nearly 19,000 people from India had visited the USSR and roughly the same number of Soviet citizens have been visiting India every year since 1979.

The Russian, who is the First Deputy Chairman for Foreign Tourism, said his country favours development of tourism as an effective means of international communications, promoting peaceful policies and maintaining and deepening detente.

Here Mr Nikitine alleged that yesterday the American delegate, instead of confining himself to tourism at the WTO plenary session, had dealt with the shooting down of the Korean Airlines Boeing. In reply to a question, he said that thereupon the Russian delegates had to issue a "clarification". The raising of the issue of the plane was "out of context" and deliberate" and to "slander" the Russians.

He said last year 5.5 million tourists from 152 different countries had visited the USSR and 3 million Russian tourists had visited 140 different countries. Its foreign exchange earning was in the neighbourhood of 600 million roubles.

In reply to a question he said there were no travel restrictions on foreign tourists inside the USSR. These days the majority of them were visiting Siberia which was a "closed" country till a few years ago. There was a great demand for seeing Siberia and it was proving to be a great tourist attraction even though it was a cold country.

He said that there was no discrimination between Indian tourists and those coming from Socialist countries. Many tourists also come to the USSR for medical treatment.

COMMERCE MINISTER TALKS WITH HUNGARIAN TRADE MINISTER

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 6 Oct 83 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, Oct. 5--India and Hungary have agreed to hold talks to identify new items for imports and exports to increase their bilateral trade. Mr Zolbin Jubair, the Hungarian Trade Minister, called on the Commerce Minister, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, here today for talks on trade between the two countries.

Mr Jubair expressed satisfaction at the finalization of the deal for the supply of electronic trolley buses by BHEL. There was need for India to diversify its exports to his country particularly when Indian needs were easily acceptable to them, he stated.

He also mentioned Hungary's interest in the supply of equipment to the alumina-aluminum complex at Orba. The Hungarian Minister asked for early clearance for the collaboration project between Kirloskar and Raba.

Mr Singh said that efforts should be made to balance trade on both sides and to push it to a higher level. He appreciated the efforts made by a Hungarian delegation which was recently in India and had identified many items for export.

The Commerce Minister stated that India was in a position to supply a larger volume of engineering products. He suggested that Hungary buy iron-ore and iron-ore concentrates, preferably on a long term arrangement. Hungary offered good scope for Third World country projects such as joint tendering and turn-key projects.

Mr Singh said 100% export orient units with buy-back arrangements and joint ventures in free trade zones could interest Hungary.

India and Hungary have a bilateral trade agreement in free foreign exchange. The volume of trade between the two countries was stabilized around Rs 35 crores annually during the past few years.

CSO: 4600/1113

INDIA TO AID NEPAL IN BUILDING INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 Oct 83 p 9

[Text] KATHMANDU, Oct. 6--India will provide Nepal with Rs 1.25 crores as grant assistance to set up an industrial complex, reports UNI. The two Governments had agreed in September 1983 to set up a new industrial estate at Rajbiraj in line with other existing industrial districts in Nepal.

Earlier, industrial complexes were set up with Indian help at Patan in Kathmandu, Nepaiganj and Dharan.

The Indian Government assigned the National Small Industries Corporation, a public sector undertaking, to conduct a feasibility survey and prepare a report on the proposed project. The NSIC team of experts had visited Nepal in May and met with Government officials and industrialists.

The Corporation report, which was submitted yesterday by the Indian Ambassador to Nepal, Mr H. C. Sarin, to the Nepalese Industries Minister, Mr Narayan Dutta Bhatta, has recommended that small-scale industries based on local resources of agriculture, horticulture and forests could be set up at Rajbiraj.

The study has identified such industries as fruit preservation, manufacture of wire nails, PVC cables, power looms, soaps and detergents, rice, husks, cement plant, handmade paper, aluminium utensils, oil extraction and pesticides.

The proposed complex would cover an area of 14 hectares and would have facilities for banking, post office, dispensary and other utility services.

In order to save time the report has recommended that finalizing the list of entrepreneurs and identifying the items to be manufactured should be carried out simultaneously with land development construction activities.

The selected entrepreneurs should be sent for the training in India under the Entrepreneurship Development Programme.

According to an Indian Embassy Press release the implementation of the project will be taken up soon after the Nepalese Government gives its comment on the report.

The development of the proposed complex will act as a catalyst for promotion of industry in the area and socio-economic development of Nepal, the release said.

## HIGH-POWERED DELEGATION TO ATTEND SEOUL IPU MEET

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Sep 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Sept. 28.

A highpower delegation, headed by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Mr. Balram Jakhar, is being sent by India to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) conference in Seoul, South Korea, ignoring the attempts of some of the Soviet bloc countries and their associates to boycott it.

The 10-member Indian delegation is likely to include the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. Buta Singh, besides members of different parties from both Houses of Parliament.

Though North Korea has been campaigning for a boycott of the conference in Seoul, the Soviet Union decided not to attend it only in the wake of the recent controversy over the shooting down of the South Korean plane. It is likely that many other socialist countries would follow the Soviet example, although the Soviet bloc as such might decide to have a token representation to rebut the anticipated criticism by some Western powers of the Soviet Action.

But India was counting on the support of the Soviet bloc countries for the election of Mr. Jakhar to one of the three seats falling vacant on the executive committee of the IPU at this conference. Though there is little doubt that India will be able to muster the necessary support, the Government has been keen on ensuring the unanimous election of Mr. Jakhar with the backing of all major regional and political groups of this 98-member organisation.

The IPU is headed by a 15-member executive committee which elects its own president and open-ended council on which all the members are represented in the sense that any country which chooses to attend its meeting is entitled to do so and participate in the voting on its decisions.

The annual conference of the IPU is generally held in September-October and the preparatory meeting takes place in April-May to draw up the agenda and draft resolutions. At the last annual conference in Rome, it was decided to hold the current one in Seoul despite North Korean opposition. An attempt was made by the Soviet bloc at the preparatory conference in Helsinki in April this year to shift the venue, but the majority of members opposed the move and voted in favour of adhering to the earlier decision.

The whole controversy over the venue has got politicised in the wake of the Korean plane tragedy, acquiring cold war overtones, with the U.S. bent on using every available forum to denounce the Soviet Union for shooting down the passenger aircraft. India had abstained both at the Rome conference and the subsequent attempts at Helsinki to change the venue.

The Indian delegation, which has been adequately briefed by the External Affairs Ministry on the political aspects of the plane episode, will steer clear of any controversy that might arise over this issue which does not concern the IPU conference.

CSO: 4600/1108

## CONGRESS-I OFFENSIVE AGAINST OPPOSITION FORESEEN

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 4.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who has kept herself fully informed of the political developments in the country during her two-week trip abroad, is reported to be all set to match the Opposition moves for makeshift unity with an action programme of her own for establishing better understanding with like-minded individuals and groups even in parties that are highly critical of her to prevent the emergence of an anti-Congress (I) front.

The senior officials and party functionaries entrusted with the responsibility of keeping a close eye on the activities of the Opposition parties during her absence have been keeping her fully informed of these developments on a day-to-day basis over the hotline and receiving instructions on what should be done to checkmate them to the extent possible.

**Wooing attempt:** The main thrust of the Congress (I)'s counter-offensive will be aimed at consolidating its hold on the Muslims and other minorities, extending its influence to the Harijans and making a determined bid to win over those sections of the Hindus who have hitherto turned to communal parties to uphold their interests. A parallel attempt is to be made to woo the educated middle classes and other articulate sections to prevent the Opposition parties from exploiting the current discontent of the people.

According to some of Mrs. Gandhi's confidants, the Congress (I) will hit back after the Srinagar conclave choosing a politically opportune and psychologically suitable moment to carry the fight into the Opposition camp by encouraging dissidence within the major Opposition parties that are either hostile towards Mrs. Gandhi or highly critical of her government. The intention is to press forward simultaneously for closer understanding with regional parties and groups for weaning them from national-level Opposition fronts.

**New polarisation:** The emergence of pro-Indira groups in the CPI, and surprisingly enough to some extent within the avowedly Hindu parties in the northern States is an

unmistakable indication of the new polarisation taking place in Indian politics cutting across ideological and communal considerations. The Congress (I) strategy is to exploit this phenomenon fully by projecting Mrs. Gandhi as the only leader capable of safeguarding the sectional interests of all communities and castes without prejudice to her own nationalism.

A significant feature of the Congress (I) secularism these days is that the ruling party sees no great contradiction in wooing both Hindus and Muslims with a compartmentalised approach to cater to their sentiments, if only to wean them from communally-oriented political influences. But it has also landed the ruling party in great difficulties at times by letting the communally-minded elements in Indian politics imagine that the Congress (I) is no longer irrevocably opposed to their communalism.

**Hazardous task:** It is going to be an extremely hazardous task for Mrs. Gandhi in a pre-election year to keep up a proper balance between her firm commitments to secular politics and the new compulsions to make some concessions to regional and religious sentiments in public life. She will have to move forward quite warily in her new bid to placate the urban intelligentsia, the less critical leftist groups, the Muslims and other minorities, the Harijans and the traditionally non-Congress Hindu orthodoxy in the northern States.

From all accounts, the Congress (I) is keen on making an integrated approach to all these sections, but as yet it has not evolved any proper plan of action. The party has tried to meet the Opposition challenge with some disjointed moves that are primarily intended to be ad hoc responses with no common core to them.

After she has disengaged herself from excessive pre-occupation with foreign affairs, Mrs. Gandhi will probably make a determined bid to regain the lost initiative in some of the States to demonstrate that her party is still too well entrenched to be dislodged by a mere formation of Opposition alliances and fronts. But if the Congress (I) makes the big mistake of

toppling Opposition governments by encouraging defections or playing the cynical game of splitting other parties to prevent them from coming together, it will pay dearly in the long run by providing enough provocation to them to sink their differences in common interest.

**Metamorphosis:** It is too early to foresee what shape the various moves under way for inter-party regroupings in the name of different fronts and alliances are going to take before the next elections. What is becoming increasingly clear, however, is that the Congress (I), too, is going through a silent metamorphosis that might change both its character and content in the name of making the party more receptive to the new realities of Indian political life.

CSO: 4600/1110

BJP PRESIDENT HOLDS DELHI PRESS CONFERENCE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Sep 83 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, September 27--THE BJP president, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee said here today that India should have lodged a strong protest against the U.S. administration's failure to provide landing facilities for the Soviet foreign minister, Mr. A. Gromyko, in New York to attend the U.N. general assembly session.

Mr. Vajpayee said that the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, should have cancelled her visit to New York as a mark of protest against the U.S. failure to discharge its duties as a host country for the U.N.

"What is the U.N. assembly session with one power bloc absenting from its sittings" he asked.

Mr. Vajpayee was answering questions at a press conference held here today.

Elections De-Linked

He deplored the U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan's attack on the non-aligned movement at the United Nations general assembly yesterday and hoped that member countries now assembled at New York would react to it appropriately.

Replying to a question he said, "there is no doubt that some members of the non-aligned movement are pro-Soviet. But it should not be forgotten that many are also pro-American.

"It would be wrong to damn the entire movement or its role," he said.

"Non-alignment does not mean equidistance between the superpowers or neutrality on key international questions," he added.

Mr. Vajpayee said that the Congress (I) leaders' denials about possibility of early Lok Sabha poll had failed to dispel the widely sharpened feelings of the people in this regard. The Lok Sabha poll, he reiterated, may be held early next year.

He said attempts should be made to synchronise Lok Sabha and state assembly elections as was done up to 1967. The mid-term Lok Sabha poll in 1971 disturbed this synchronisation and Lok Sabha elections have been delinked from assembly polls. Intermittent dissolution of some or other state assembly at different points of time has only compounded the problem.

Two disturbing consequences have emerged from this de-linking of elections. First, the cost of elections have doubled. Secondly, Indian politics has been in a state of perpetual electoral turmoil. Almost every year there is a general election or a mini-general election.

Mr. Vajpayee said such a situation not only adversely affected the administration, but also the health of democracy and the party system. He demanded that steps be taken to change the situation by resorting to the pre-1967 synchronism.

The last Lok Sabha elections were held in January 1980 and the last assembly elections (of most states) in June 1980. This gap of five months could be bridged without difficulty, he said.

He demanded that the government should take a policy decision right now and announce that elections to all assemblies constituted in 1980 would be held simultaneously with the Lok Sabha poll.

After this it could consider how polling programmes of remaining assemblies could also be progressively synchronised, he said.

#### NDA-UDF Co-Operation

In reply to a question, Mr. Vajpayee said some of the utterance by leaders of the Janata party-led United Democratic Front had vitiated the atmosphere for a meaningful co-operation between the NDA and the UDF.

He said he had a meeting with the Congress (S) leader, Mr. Sharad Pawar on September 23 at Bombay when they discussed current political affairs.

Mr. Vajpayee said there were no fundamental or policy differences between the NDA and the UDF.

He said the formation of NDA had broken a spell of inertia and stagnation which had gripped Indian politics. A new wave of political activity had started. He said even the ruling Congress (I) was looking for some kind of alliance with other parties and groups.

Mr. Vajpayee admitted that differences between the state unit of the BJP and the Janata party in Karnataka had grown recently. But, he categorically ruled out the possibility of withdrawal of support to the Janata government in Karnataka. "BJP would never be a party to pulling down the Karnataka government," he added.

Mr. Vajpayee said happenings in Hyderabad were "shocking" in which 43 persons had lost their lives in communal violence which has been continuing unabated for about a fortnight.

He demanded firm action by the state government against rioters, irrespective of their community affiliation. He said the BJP general secretary, Mr. L. K. Advani, would proceed to Hyderabad tomorrow for an on-the-spot study of the situation.

Mr. Vajpayee said that the manner in which Mrs. Gandhi's letter to the Andhra Pradesh chief minister, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, expressing her concern about happenings in Hyderabad, had been published in newspapers, gave an impression of a public admonition of a non-Congress (I) government.

CSO: 4600/1108

## GANDHI PLANNING NEW DIALOGUE WITH CHIEF MINISTERS

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 5.

A new dialogue with individual Chief Ministers by the Prime Minister and her senior Cabinet colleagues is being planned, to take a close look at the problems of each State and try to redress its legitimate grievances before they acquire political overtones.

The intention is not to by-pass the existing bodies like the National Development Council and Planning Commission, much less the Finance and Home Ministries which deal with the bulk of Centre-State problems, but create at higher levels greater opportunities for personal contacts between the Prime Minister and Chief Ministers to provide for better rapport between them.

**Brief encounters**

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, makes it a point to meet any Chief Minister who wants to see her during his visits to Delhi. But these meetings are generally brief and confined to specific issues, not of a leisurely nature for sharing thoughts on matters of wider national importance.

The Congress (I) Chief Ministers utilise such occasions to talk to Mrs. Gandhi about party affairs in their States, besides keeping her informed of their administrative problems. If she feels that what they have said needs further consideration, she refers them to senior party functionaries or Cabinet Ministers concerned depending on the subject.

But in the case of non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers, she tends to listen to what they have to say without indicating her reaction. It takes a long time for them to establish the necessary equation with her to be able to engage in a serious two-way discussion on any issue with a degree of mutual confidence.

Apart from Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, the only other non-Congress (I) Chief Minister, who has a fairly cordial working relationship with Mrs. Gandhi is Mr. Jyoti Basu, despite her strong political differences with him. The others like Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde and Dr. Farooq Abdullah have yet to establish such rapport with her consistent with

their respective party positions.

**Big mistake**

But the big mistake both the Congress (I) and non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers make in their dealings with the Centre is to go about complaining that they are being either ignored or discriminated against even when they have no valid reasons to entertain such grievances. The extravagant suggestions that have been made by some of the Opposition leaders at the Delhi conclave for recasting Centre-State relations cut across the very concept of a union of States which is quite different from a confederation.

The real need at present is for the restoration of a proper perspective for discussing Centre-State relations seriously within the existing constitutional framework which cannot be easily altered without unwittingly playing into the hands of those within the ruling party who might want to change its very basis by switching over to a Presidential system. It is, therefore, equally incumbent on both Congress (I) and non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers not to let this controversy get beyond the limits of responsible debate.

The Sarkaria Commission has unfortunately not yet come to grips with the complexities of this problem, since it is still groping in the dark by getting enmeshed in procedural issues. The focus which this commission should have provided for a detailed consideration of all aspects of Centre-State relations is now shifting to the political forum with a free-for-all discussion, reducing the whole thing to a matter for confrontation between the ruling Congress (I) and the Opposition.

It is to stem this drift and in the process remove the distortions that have crept into this debate that the Prime Minister wants to open up an informal dialogue with the Chief Ministers directly by increasing her contacts with them. The purpose of these exchanges is to develop enough mutual trust for sharing their views privately without undue inhibitions to open the way for better understanding of one another's positions.

ENVOY TO PAKISTAN DENIES PAKISTANI CHARGES

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 Oct 83 p 5

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Oct. 6--The Indian Ambassador, Mr K. D. Sharma, yesterday repudiated a Pakistani charge that the Indian Government was either instigating demonstrations in front of the Pakistani Embassy in New Delhi or had failed to protect it against them, reports PTI.

Asked to comment on a statement issued by a spokesman of the Pakistani Foreign Office here yesterday, he said New Delhi was meeting all its obligations under international law to afford protection to diplomatic missions.

Mr Sharma pointed out that demonstrations were a part of the public scene in India, yet New Delhi had assured Pakistan that it would ensure the safety of its embassy in the capital as also its diplomatic personnel.

Refuting the charge of official connivance at the demonstrations, he said sponsorship of a demonstration by the ruling party did not ipso facto prove that it was instigated by the Government.

Earlier, the Pakistani Foreign Office spokesman said Islamabad had conveyed its "grave concern" to the Government of India over demonstrations that had been recently sponsored and organized by the Congress (I) in front of the Pakistani Embassy in New Delhi.

Amid the continuing media campaign here against alleged Indian interference in Pakistan's internal affairs, a noted Pakistani columnist, Mr Ahmed Hasan, has questioned where internal affairs ends and external affairs begins.

In his column, From Islamabad With Love, in a Karachi evening paper, Mr Hasan wanted to know if a person could plead with his neighbour if the neighbour beat his wife black and blue and related the following story of the butcher's wife:

"As the butcher beat her up, neighbours heard her scream and call out for help. One day unable to bear this anymore the neighbours collected and called on the butcher.

"And most respectfully asked him what was wrong and could they be of some help. The butcher flew into a rage and shouted who the hell do think you are to interfere in my internal affairs?

"The group left quietly. Chaps don't know about internal affairs", Mr Hasan concluded.

CSO: 4600/1115

## CABINET CONCERNED OVER TERRORISM IN PUNJAB

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 6.

The Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet, which met today to consider the serious situation in Punjab, decided to take stern action to deal with the Sikh extremists who are evidently bent on giving a communal colour to their agitation.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, and her senior Cabinet colleagues who are members of the PAC were shocked over the latest outrage in which six Hindu passengers travelling in a Delhi-bound express bus were shot dead in the worst such outrage so far during the current wave of violence.

In another incident, the extremists killed a police Sub-Inspector and a customs officer in a similar cold-blooded manner in a running train on the outskirts of Amritsar, besides injuring four other passengers in the shooting spree in one of the carriages.

The two incidents together, coming in the wake of intensified violence in which almost every day somebody or other is being killed, have created a crisis in this strife-torn border State. It is quite clear that this terrorism is directed primarily against both Hindu and Sikh police officers on the hit list and the Hindus in general to create panic and inflame communal passions.

The Punjab Government has been asked to suspend night bus services and provide armed escorts to both trains and buses during day and night. This has been done. A team of Home Ministry officials has been sent to Chandigarh to assist the local authorities in intensifying the anti-terrorist combing operations with the help of extra CRP and BSF contingents placed at the disposal of the State Government.

**Unavoidable:** The Centre feels that some drastic action has become unavoidable in Punjab to track down the Sikh extremists on the rampage, before resuming negotiations with the Akali leaders in an atmosphere free from

violence. A sad feature of this dangerous situation is that the moderate Sikh leadership has been isolated and the militants are resorting to terrorism to intimidate the Government.

There was a sense of relief in Government circles in Delhi that, better late than never, the Akali leader, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, has unequivocally condemned the latest incidents. But the militant leader, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, continued to maintain that the killings were part of a governmental conspiracy to discredit the Sikh agitation by giving a communal turn to it.

The State Government has also been advised to enlist the support of both Hindu and Sikh leaders to avert the danger of communal tensions. The peace committees formed earlier are being reactivated under Central advice to afford an opportunity to leaders of moderation in both communities to exert their restraining influence.

The detention of Mr. Jagdev Singh Taiwandi and two other senior Akali leaders under the National Security Act has been utilised by the extremists as an excuse for stepping up their terrorism. But the acts of violence have been intensified even before the arrest of these Akali leaders for advocating direct action.

The Centre is convinced that the hawks in the Akali movement have been privately encouraging the extremists to resort to terrorism. It is not known to what extent this has been done with the prior knowledge and instigation of the protagonists of the so-called Khalistan movement abroad, who evidently enjoy a measure of foreign support.

UNI reports:

Mr. Jagdev Singh Taiwandi, the former Punjab Education Minister, Mr. Sukhjinder Singh, and the *Akali Patrika*, chief editor, Mr. Bharpur Singh Balbir, were shifted from the Ambala jail to an unknown destination.

## BRIEFS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE EXPELLEES--SRINAGAR, Oct. 4--Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah's estranged brother-in-law Ghulam Mohammad Shah, leader of the dissident group in National Conference, and seven of his prominent supporters were today expelled from the party. The reconstituted working committee of the party which met here under the presidentship of Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah also endorsed the action taken by the party last month against former Finance Minister D. D. Thakur, who was also expelled from the basic membership of the party. A party release said that the committee also constituted a credential committee comprising party general secretary Sheikh Nazir Ahmed, Works Minister Ghulam Mohiuddin Shah, and the provincial presidents of the Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh units of the party for "taking action against party workers likely to take anti-party stand". Those expelled include former Revenue Minister G. N. Kochak, former Law Minister R. D. Tikoo, former Agriculture Minister Mohammad Ashraf, former Minister of State T. R. Arti, former Minister of State Pandit Parmanand, (all Ministers in Sheikh Abdullah's Cabinet), Mr Roshan Lal and Mr Raunaq Singh. [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 5 Oct 83 p 1]

INDO-BANGLADESH TALKS--India and Bangladesh have not been able to reach an agreement on certain important issues for renewal of the protocol on inland water transit and trade between the two countries, it is learnt, reports PTI. Official level talks between them, which began in Delhi 9 September for renewing the protocol, have ended inconclusively. The protocol was signed in Dhaka in August last year and is due to expire on 3 October. In the event of its not being renewed before expiry, the existing arrangements are likely to continue for two more months. [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Oct 83 p 5]

ENVOY TO SINGAPORE--NEW DELHI, Oct. 1--Mr. Kidangoor A. N. Gopalakrishna Pitlai, general secretary of the Nair Service Society, Kerala and president of the State's National Democratic Party, has been appointed High Commissioner for India in Singapore. Mr. Pitlai is expected to take up his assignment shortly, according to an official press release. [Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Oct 83 p 12]

CSO: 4600/1112

EDITOR GIVES IMPRESSIONS OF SIND TOUR, ANALYZES CRISIS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1, 3, 5, 8 Oct 83

["Sind Dairy-I" by Mushahid Hussain: "Why the Outburst?"--first in a series of articles based on visits to the interior of Sind]

[1 Oct 83 pp 1, 8]

[Text] The agitation in various parts of Sind has already entered its 7th week under the sponsorship of MRD. The extent of the outburst and the intensity of violence has surprised almost all elements including those who were initially spearheading the movement. Some of its features today make it an agitation different from the previous ones that have appeared on the horizon of our country's chequered history. There is little doubt that the movement in Sind has brought about a qualitative change in that province's political landscape which is going to profoundly affect the future direction of politics both in Sind and the rest of the country. The movement has adopted different modes of protest in the last few weeks, sometime peaceful, sometime violent. There is a regular process of courting of arrests and occasional demonstrations. There have been attacks on the symbols of State authority--jails, Police judicial institutions. There have also been violent incidents of exchange of gunfire between the Police and the demonstrating mobs. Additionally, incidents of disruption of railway track and sniping at trains have also taken place.

Before examining the character of the current agitation in Sind, at least two important factors need to be taken into consideration so that the situation can be analysed in its proper context.

Firstly, irrespective of the various shades of political ideology, there is a widely-shared and deep-rooted feeling of deprivation among the people of Sind. This feeling and profound sense of being denied opportunities and access to political power and economic well-being exists among almost all sections of Sindi Society: top Sindi bureaucrats, politicians, Waderas, Haris, Students and intellectuals. Although it is not yet perceived as a desire for separatism or Sindu Desh (G.M. Syed and his ilk are dubbed as extremists), this feeling of deprivation can soon transform itself into a feeling of alienation from the concept of Pakistan if the situation is mishandled and not tackled properly with the political finesse that is required in the present situation. The nature of the grievances of the Sindis pertain to what is perceived by

them as the denial of job opportunities, acquisition of their choicest rural land by outsiders and almost total absence of representation in or access to corridors of power. However, in no way can this feeling of deprivation which is strikingly similar to that felt by Bengalis in the mid sixties be termed as a move towards separatism. Barring G.M. Syed no Sindi leader of any stature or any group see for themselves a role outside Pakistan. Rather their desire is to seek an accommodation which to them would be fair and equitable within the framework of a United Federal Pakistan.

This agitation in Sind has forged an efficient marriage between objective realities and subjective factors, the former being the feelings of deprivation among Sindis and the latter being the superb organisation of the MRD in different tiers of the province in sharp contrast to the rest of Pakistan where the MRD remains a loose conglomeration of disparate political forces. In most parts of Sind, the MRD was organised down to the town and Tehsil level. It is this organisation which has managed to give a political direction to the material grievances of the Sindis. Despite the wide-spread feeling of deprivation among Sindis having been denied their due share in the governance of this country and the perception of being a neglected partner in the federation it is still quite remarkable that there is no ill-will towards non-Sindis settled in Sind. These non-Sindis include Punjabi farmers, in rural Sind and muhajir settlers in urban Sind. There have been to date no incident in which non-Sindis are a target and after talking to a number of non-Sindis (in Hyderabad), one gets the clear impression that there is no sense of insecurity or fear among them.

Another important feature which merits consideration is that new forces have appeared on Sind's political horizon. In this regard the role of Sindi Awami Tehrik is quite significant. With a track record of patient political work in the rural areas of Sind, this highly organised political group has among its ranks some motivated and highly dedicated cadres. There is little doubt that through this agitation the traditional political elites of Sind will be largely bypassed and the leadership will pass on to younger more militant and organised cadres. However, in the present context, the role of Waderas is still important in that these powerful individuals with famous Sindi surnames have surprised all by adopting a role which historically was never theirs: to actively oppose the establishment. Different explanations have been given for this new found militancy among the Sindi Waderas--Official spokesmen have been stating that the wadera is against the government on account of Ushr but this simplistic explanation forgets that Ushr has also been levied in Punjab and here the Jagirdar has not risen. Then conspiracy theorists among observers of political scene believe that leading wadera politicians joined the movement only after they received a "green light" from abroad regarding imminence of a change in the government in Pakistan and only after this alleged 'assurance' did waderas take the plunge. However, a more rational and perhaps, acceptable explanation seems to be that the wadera has been pushed into the movement due to pressure from below, i.e. the rural masses and the feeling of deprivation extends also to the affluent sections of Sindi society, particularly access to political power. In this regard what we are seeing in Sind during the current agitation is a 'Grand United Front' of almost all strata of Sindi society: The wadera and the Hari, the leftist and the rightists, the intellectual and the pir.

Another interesting characteristic of agitation in Sind is its rural dimension. Unlike past agitations in Pakistan which have largely been urban based mass protests, the current outburst in Sind has roots in rural areas and a number of people from rural areas have come to the towns and tehsils to court arrest.

While there have been courting of arrests and violence of varying varieties, the main question is that whether the situation is controllable in purely law and order terms. To that extent it can be manageable but the important aspect to be noted is the serious implications of the use of force, be it in Khairpur Nathan Shah, New Jatoi or Sakrand. An administrative approach to political problems is always counter productive in the long run and what is needed is a political approach to what is essentially and in the ultimate analysis a political problem. It is here that the political sagacity and foresight of the powers that be is put to test. Additionally, timing is of the essence in the situation. What is possible today may not be pertinent tomorrow. In any case in such a situation sometime more important than the facts on the ground are if a certain kind of feeling gains ground and finds a place in hearts and minds of people then the battle may be won but the war is certainly lost.

["Sind Dairy-II" by Mushahid Hussain:"Separatism Versus Deprivation"--second in a series of articles based on visits to the interior of Sind]

[3 Oct 83 pp 1, 8]

[Text] At 81, G.M. Sayid, also known as Ghulam Murtaza Shah, lives all by himself in his native town of Sunn in Dadu district. He is currently "confined to his village," not unusual with G.M. Sayid given the fact that he has spent 21 years of his life either in jail or in detention. Frail and short in stature, G.M. sayid's expressive eyes and mental alertness belie his age. He is also a gracious host in true Sindi tradition, ensuring that his guests are well fed and well looked after and insisting that he goes all the way out to see them off when they are ready to depart.

An embittered old man, G.M. Sayid is quite controversial and is said to be rather reticent in receiving visitors. It was, therefore, a pleasant surprise to have the opportunity to spend over three hours at his native town in the heart of Sind. He is undoubtedly the patriarch of Sindi nationalism, one who has given up all hope to live within a United Pakistan. Asked about the current MRD agitation in Sind, G.M. Sayid plainly states that "we are not supporting it." He said the agitation is having three objectives, all of which are in diametrical opposition to his own views and goals. The first objective of the movement stated by its organisers according to G.M. Sayid is to "save Pakistan" (or "Pakistan Bachao Tehrik)). G.M. Sayid says that he is not interested in saving Pakistan. If the MRD agitation leadership were to support the break-up of Pakistan, then he, G.M. Sayid, and his [one line illegible] of 1973 Constitution. That again is unacceptable, says G.M. Sayid. The third objective, says G.M. Sayid, of the agitation is the restoration of democracy and in that case continues the octogenarian leader, "We Sindis will be in a minority." (missing material supplied at end of this article)

G.M. Sayid minces no words while speaking about his own views and objectives. When you enter his 'Baithak' you are confronted with a larger-than-life portrait of G.M. Sayid and next to it is a map of Sind on which is inscribed in English: "Sindu Desh--A Nation in Chains," also the title of one of the 48 books and booklets said to be written by G.M. Sayid.

"We are staying out of this agitation. It is not a popular movement. It is only led by PPP feudals for their lust of power. Like a dog, the PPP is only seeking crumbs and bones. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi joined in when he got a pat on the back for it from some American Senators that he had met." Such candour also extends to G.M. Sayid's views regarding other politicians. Referring to the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, G.M. Sayid says that "he was a third rate man, power hungry and he was in collusion with the Generals in 1971 to break up Pakistan." Similarly, Wali Khan, according to G.M. Sayid, is a "third rate man." He says that in 1971 when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had launched his Six Points, he went to Wali Khan seeking the support of the smaller provinces for the Six Points. But, much to the disappointment of G.M. Sayid, Wali Khan refused to endorse the Six Points. He told G.M. Sayid that the Frontier Province's econo- [one line illegible] added G.M. Sayid, Wali Khan told him in 1971 that "one-fourth of the Generals are from the Frontier Province and, therefore, we will also get our share of power." G.M. Sayid claims that he told Wali Khan that this would not be the case because of his father's background, whom he still respects but says is too much influenced by his daughter-in-law (Begum Nasim Wali Khan). Similar harsh words were expressed regarding Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, whom G.M. Sayid calls a "mercenary." (missing material supplied at end of this article)

During the conversation, G.M. Sayid was well armed with statistics to back up his arguments. In 1947, says G.M. Sayid, the population of Sind was 48 lacs, of which 13 lacs Hindus left for India and only 35 lacs remained. According to 1951 population census, Sind's population was 62 lacs and by the 1961 census it was 84 lacs. Now, says G.M. Sayid, Sind has a population of 2 crores of which 52 percent are Sindis and 48 percent non-Sindis. In regard to population, density per square mile in Sind in 1947, says G.M. Sayid, it was 85 persons per square mile and now it is 300 persons per square mile. But, interestingly, G.M. Sayid's extremist views do not necessarily indicate a militant political line. He says that he has advised his followers to do nothing as a policy of confrontation would be 'suicidal.' "Let us wait and see," is his approach. He is relying more on international factors for the achievement of his goals, and as a person who regularly offers his morning prayers, he says: "It depends on the Will of Allah."

It is an irony of history that such talk comes from a person who [one line illegible] cate of the Pakistan movement. He has 70 letters from the Quaid-e-Azam carefully preserved in his files and he says rather plainly, with a slight glint of remorse, that in 1943 he was the first person to table the Pakistan resolution in the Sind Provincial Assembly. "You Punjabis have now become the guardians of Pakistan's integrity. Do you forget that during 1946 there was a Unionist Government in the Punjab?" Why has he reversed his political stance in the last few decades from a staunch supporter of

Pakistan to an out-and-out secessionist? "It is because of you Punjabis. You are not prepared to share power with us or the other smaller provinces. It was because of you that the biggest majority province of Pakistan was forced into separation. That is why I feel we should have nothing to do within the framework of United Pakistan." What are Sindi Nationalist organizations like Jiye Sind Mahaz and the Jiye Sind Students Federation doing these days? "I have advised them to do intellectual work, study a lot. Maybe the time will come. They are waiting and watching." [missing material supplied at end of this article]

However, G.M. Sayid is the odd-man-out of Sindi politics. He is considered to be on the fringe and his views do not elicit a sympathetic response from the overwhelming majority of the Sindis that one came across during this journey. One such important personality and an interesting one at that, is Abdul Hamid Jatoi, President of the Pakistan National Party, Sind. He also belongs to a Tehsil, Mehar, of Dadu district, which is about 20 kilometers north of Khairpur Nathan Shah. Having spent a night as his house guest it is easy to enjoy urban comforts in a rural setting. Abdul Hamid Jatoi, often known as the Dissident from Dadu, is a heavy-set person who wears a traditional Sindi cap. Speaking of G.M. Sayid's views, he says that "Shah Sahib has always been an extremist because Sindis do not want Sindu Desh." Smaller provinces like Sind, says Abdul Hamid Jatoi, only want a fair deal not separation. They want access to jobs and opportunities and they need safeguards for their own resources and their provincial autonomy. In this regard, says the veteran parliamentarian, "We will have to go beyond the 1973 Constitution so that these safeguards ensure that what happened to Baluchistan's elected government during Bhutto's period is not repeated." He says that "I did not sign the 1973 Constitution. The position of the Senate in the 1973 Constitution is just like that of the First Wife: She is senior no doubt, but she has no power!" Jatoi Sahib says that should a referendum be held in Sind, "85 percent of Sindis would vote for a United Pakistan. We should not forget that Bengal and Sind were in the forefront of the Pakistan movement. I myself remember the role of Hindus in Sind. There used to be separate drinking fountains for Muslims and Hindus. How can we forget that fact?"

"However, now" according to Abdul Hamid Jatoi, "Sindis have deep-rooted grievances: The settlers from outside got their best lands and often job opportunities are denied to our people. Bhutto did not do anything for Sindis. Whenever he came here, he talked to them in their own language and they were happy. That was all. He did not do anything for the Sindis betterment."

As a Wadera, Abdul Hamid Jatoi is very clear about his and other Waderas role and the reasons why they have come into the agitation. He says: "The Wadera is basically 'buzdil'. He was pushed into this agitation due to pressure from the people, so it is essentially a question of survival for him." His parliamentary experience in the 50s as Member of the Sind and West Pakistan Assembly and later in 60s as Member of the National Assembly is an important factor in his understanding of the politicians of the other provinces who were once his colleagues in the elected assemblies. In the 1970 elections he was contesting from the PPP and defeated his rival by the

largest number of votes (42,000). His son, Liaquat Jatoi, is the first member of the Majlis-e-Shoora who offered his resignation due to the recent events.

Abdul Hamid Jatoi is not bitter towards the Punjab, only regretful about its role and the fact that it is not producing any leadership worthy of the name. "I do not know why you people only produce bureaucrats or government officials. Even in the PPP many of its leaders from Punjab were ex-officials or a man like Mustafa Khar, who is quite mediocre. It is imperative that the Punjab must give political leadership and not that of bureaucrats but of genuine grassroot politicians."

During the conversation which went on well into the night and started again at the breakfast-table next morning, Jatok, a charming conversationalist with a vast experience, spoke warmly of his personal friendship with a Nawab of Kalabagh "a very honest man" and also of the fact that the law-and-order situation in Sind has been really bad for the last few years. There are highway robberies at night on a regular basis and "the administration does nothing about that." The provincial government, he says rather critically, has little or no rapport with the people in Sind. It is standoffish and quite aloof and, therefore, incapable of comprehending the problems of the people.

One important thing is that personalities like Abdul Hamid Jatoi, in sharp contrast to G.M. Sayid, are hopeful of the future. In fact, he is quite convinced that these problems can be resolved given the political will.

[Editor's note] In our yesterday's issue, due to a printing problem, a few lines were missing from the Sind Dairy. The completed sentences should have read as follows: If the MRD agitation leadership were to support the break-up of Pakistan, then he, G.M. Sayid and his followers would as he put it, "certainly join it." The second stated objective of the agitation, according to G.M. Sayid, is the restoration of 1973 Constitution.

Second sentence should have read: He told G.M. Sayid that the Frontier Province's economic well being was very much linked with the rest of Pakistan and he could not see it prospering if the Six Points were implemented, and, added G.M. Sayid.

The third sentence should have read: It is an irony of history that such talk comes from a person who was once an ardent admirer of Quaide-e-Azam and a staunch advocate of the Pakistan Movement.

The error is regretted.--Ed

["Sind Dairy-III" by Mushahid Hussain: "The Forces that Count"--third in a series of articles based on visits to the interior of Sind]

[5 Oct 83 p ]]

[Text] Whoever one talks to regarding the current agitation in Sind there is a unanimity of opinion on the role of Sindi Awami Tehrik (SAT). Without any iota of doubt, this organisation has emerged as a new potent factor to be reckoned with in the context of Sindi politics. Hitherto a little-known

organisation, the SAT now command respect and admiration amongst a broad section of Sindis. The Makhdoom of Hala's son, Makhdoom Shafiquzzaman says that the Awami Tehrik is "even better organised than the Jamat-e-Islami." Others speak of its dedicated cadres and high degree of motivation. During this agitation, over 1200 activists of the SAT have courted arrest including over 400 from Badin, over 200 from Thatta, over 75 from Khairpur, another 75 from Tharparkar, over 160 from Hyderabad and over 80 each from Sanghar, Dadu and Larkana. These are also areas which can be classified as the power base of the Awami Tehrik.

This small, close-knit organisation was formed by Rasul Bux Paleejo, an eminent intellectual, in the early 70s. In his mid-50, Thatta-born Paleejo is currently "a State guest" in Kot Lakhpat jail, Lahore. A law graduate of the Jinnah Law College, Paleejo edited a Sindi daily in Karachi and was active in the Sindi Adabi Sangat, the Sind Hari Committee of Hyder Bux Jatoti and the anti-One-Unit Movement of that period. Paleejo remained affiliated with G.M. Sayid from whom he broke with in 1971 because of the latter's "alliance with waderas." Author of several works, Paleejo has also made translations of writings of Mao Tse-tung as well as a biography of Ho-chi Minh. His most famous work, published in 1973, is a book in Sindi which roughly translates into "The Dawn Shall Come." During the Bhutto period, Rasul Bux Paleejo remained in opposition and was a lawyer for some of the accused in the Hyderabad Conspiracy Case. He was also incarcerated in prison during the PPP's regime for a couple of years.

The line of SAT differs both from the traditional Old Left as well as of Sindi Nationalists represented by G.M. Sayid. In terms of the Old Left, its leadership has largely been that of Muhajirs who have no ethnic base amongst Sindis. The Old Left has also perceived peasants as having "no revolutionary role to play." Their rather mechanistic interpretation of Marxism has made them talk only of "working class solidarity" without fully comprehending the ethnic differences among the people living in Sind. Similarly, the Awami Tehrik has contempt for the Waderas, who are viewed as being in alliance with the Sindi nationalists. The Awami Tehrik ideologues feel that the Waderas and the Sindi nationalists, both are pro-American and do not desire any change in the socio-economic system. As opposed to the Sindi nationalist slogan of "land should be free," the Awami Tehrik responds with the line that "people should be free." Additionally, while Sindi nationalists speak of "Sindu Desh," the SAT is very much for a united federal Pakistan, although it does hold the view that "Pakistan is a multi-national State."

Apart from the current agitation, the Awami Tehrik has been active in previous other political efforts, including the successful moves to stop the auction of land in Sind as well as the campaign to have voters' list in Sindi language. In several respects, the Awami Tehrik is different than its left-wing counterparts in other areas of Pakistan. Its focal points of activities are the rural areas. Its cadres have a certain seriousness of purpose and a "less talk, more work" approach. Its leaders tend to shun publicity, prefer being nameless and faceless and do not have the personality

and ego problems that afflict other Pakistani groupings. During the current agitation, SAT has received a major fillip and its cadres have the confidence that this new organisation will play a role in the future direction of politics together with other forces.

Two such forces are the approximately 1.5 to 2 million Pathan workers in Sind (including Karachi) as well as the Muhajirs. The Pathans, unlike the Muhajirs, do not have the same kind of roots in Sind. "They just come to work here and make money and then go home to their province," commented one political leader. Transport and small trade, particularly in Karachi, is largely controlled by Pathans and most of them tend to be apolitical and not really in tune with local aspirations.

The fact that nothing of significance has happened in the Frontier Province during the current agitation is largely attributed to two factors by the Sindis that one met. The first reason, according to them, is what is termed as "Pathan pragmatism." They say that even during the 1977 PNA agitation, the Frontier Province wasn't too hot. The reason, it is claimed, is that the opposition and the administration settle problems by mutual local arrangement so that there is no loss of face by either side. The opposition is allowed to take out a procession or two so that it can claim that it did its bit in the struggle while the administration ensures that things do not get out of hand so that it too can claim that it did its job of maintaining law and order rather well! The other reason, according to Sindhi leaders, for the lack of any unrest in Frontier Province during the current MRD agitation is the alleged NDP 'collusion' with the government. Sindhi leaders allege that certain key NDP leaders have derived economic benefits courtesy the present regime and they are, therefore, only delivering the "I.O.U's." Whatever the validity of such reasoning which is clearly widespread in Sind, the Pathans together with the Punjabis are perceived as "ruling partners."

The other major factor in the context of Sindhi politics is that of Muhajirs. One of their important leaders is Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, Chief of the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan. The smiling Maulana lives in the heart of Karachi and has a somewhat spartan life-style that is in sharp contrast to the opulence of most of our political elite. The pan-chewing Maulana is a relaxed person with very sharp reflexes.

Maulana Noorani says he supports the agitation. "It is a popular struggle for basic rights, it has nothing to do with Sindhu Desh." Then why the hesitation of JUP in joining in? "Well, we have some problems, we are trying to reorganise our party whose ranks have been broken by the regime." Many of our key people--Allama Mustafa Al-Azhari, Zahoarul Hasan Ghopali and Ahad Yousuf went with the regime." Does he desire elections minus PPP, like Jamat-e-Islami? "No, certainly not. We are not scared of the PPP. It is up to the people to decide for whom they will vote." The basic reason, it seems, for a degree of Noorani is quite clear on this point: "The Biharis supported Pakistan during the civil war in the eastern wing in 1971. Look what we did to them. They were totally deserted. We did not allow three lakh Biharis in Pakistan, but we allowed three million Afghan refugees into our country. The Muhajirs know clearly that their destiny is linked

with the area they live in." But the Maulana is not so forthcoming as to his own and his party's role in the current crisis. Maybe there are divisions in his own party with perhaps his Secretary General, Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi espousing a different line. Maybe Maulana Noorani is not so sure whether he will be able to carry all the Muhajirs with him were he to give a call for active participation in the agitation. Maybe he would like to play the role of "honest broker" and provide the basis for a meeting-ground between the two sides.

Whatever his role, his actions will be closely watched by all concerned since Maulana Noorani is an important factor in this situation. Whatever the outcome, the current agitation has brought forth new forces like the SAT on the political horizon. They may not be crucial today but they can certainly be important tomorrow. As one Awami Tehrik activist commented: "Tomorrow may not be ours, but the day after tomorrow certainly is."

["Sind Dairy-IV" by Mushahid Hussain: "What Is To Be Done?"--conclusion of a series of articles based on visits to the interior of Sind]

[8 Oct 83 p 1]

[Text] There is little doubt that the agitation in Sind has brought about an extraordinary situation both for the country as well as the Government. It, therefore, needs to be understood that the measures needed to resolve the situation have to be of an extraordinary kind which combine political skill, foresight and a great degree of flexibility. For this the onus is largely on the government and the ball is in its court; it has to make the necessary moves so that the situation can be salvaged. Thus far the regime has been geared to a more tactical response, lacking a strategic perspective of the situation. Where once the regime had the initiative, now it seems to be on the defensive and its approach is ad hoc, reactive, moment-to-moment. It started with an "all is well" approach which is now saying that "all is not THAT bad." Then several views were propounded the trouble is "localised," Indian money is behind it, people are paid to come out on the streets, BBC is fomenting the unrest, PPP is solely responsible for this situation, waderas are against the regime on account of Ushr.

The regime which is facing its most serious test, has had basically two kinds of decision-making styles. Firstly, it has generally avoided the use of force as well as confrontation with the people. In various problematic situations, it has pursued the path of compromise and conciliation, be it the Shia agitation on the Zakat issue, workers' opposition to the proposed labour policy, and students antipathy towards the proposal to ban the students' unions. Secondly, it has never been in a hurry to take decisions. The approach is to strengthen the status quo: whenever a problem arose, the government absorbed pressure and did not over-react. By prolonging the situation for a while, the problem almost always did "go away" or just "petered out." Indecision thus helped in certain situations, plus a great amount of goodluck. Such approaches are okay in ordinary situations, but certainly not suited to cope with extraordinary situations.

In such situations the government must be well-informed about all the facts on the ground and the feelings of the people. This helps in better assessment of the situation, while also avoiding mistakes. Additionally, it is important to understand that the administrative machinery of the state is always geared to cope with the situation while the going is good. Its real test is when it successfully responds to a situation while the going is bad. Some 'do's' and 'don'ts' are extremely important in this situation: don't underestimate your opposition, don't rely on intelligence reports and don't believe your own propaganda.

In the present situation, the government has been badly led down by some of its own instruments on whom it banked upon a great deal. Barring a couple of ministers, most of the Cabinet has been quite muted in its support to the government. The much touted Majlis-e-Shoora has proven to be an impotent body of political non-entities. The Majlis-e-Shoora members enjoyed the perks of privilege: VIP travelling facilities, allowances, Five-Star hotel dining; but they miserably failed to build bridges between the government and the people. The official publicist-cum-propagandists are either quiet or giving outrageously simplistic explanations of the situation.

These feelings have contributed to a somewhat defensive posture and a lack of an agile and effective political response to the situation. Such inaction could fast lead to a situation where the government will have only two options left: either to crack down or to compromise. Right now, the regime seems to be averse to both. But it could conceivably be forced into a situation where the use of force via "law enforcing agencies" becomes not only inevitable but also a recurring feature. Such a course would be tragic since it could lead to a vicious circle of violence.

The regime's assessment of the situation must correspond with the facts on the ground because from it will flow conclusions for the policy to be pursued. Even if the agitation remains confined to Sind, it will still have an impact on the rest of Pakistan and the region as well. After all, our neighbours are watching the situation with great interest. A lot depends on answers to two basic questions for the regime. Is the nature of the crisis (it is not a 'problem' anymore) purely of an administrative, law-and-order kind? Will it just "die down" or "go away" with the use of force? The answers to both should be in the negative.

A number of steps by the government should be in the offing so that the situation is retrieved. At the conceptual level, the regime needs to discard certain myths. For example, the myth that a strong centre necessarily means a strong Pakistan, the myth that provincial autonomy is a code-word for secession and the myth that any assertion of any regional or ethnic group's identity, culture, language is a 'threat' to our national integrity.

The government has to take political steps to resolve what is basically a political issue. Due to the lack of any political step to-date, the chasm between the two sides is already very wide and it is further widening. While many in Sind and elsewhere in Pakistan are talking of going beyond the 1973 Constitution, the government is refusing even to consider the

restoration of 1973 Constitution. While mishandling of the situation has resurrected the waderas into respectable and popular political figures, the government is suddenly talking of "land reforms" and "collection of outstanding loans to banks" of leading feudals!

Most important of all, instead of talking to the MRD, the government has only just started to sound out the JUP, which has nothing to do with the MRD or the agitation. This is just like trying to stage Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark! The person to talk to in this situation is either the Makhdoom Talib-ul-Maula of Hala (who is not in prison) or Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi (who is in prison). After all, if as reported Jatoi's credentials were considered fit so as to be offered the Prime Ministership of Pakistan by this very regime way back in 1980, then why is the government now so reluctant to touch him with a pair of tongs?

Mere change of face in the Sind Provincial Government or appointment of Sindis to senior governmental positions won't help. The regime must rise to the occasion and seek accommodation with the politicians. The abysmally poor turn-out in the recent Local Bodies polls in Sind should be a good indicator of the real state of affairs in that troubled province. After all, much more is at stake, not just the survival of the status quo.

CSO: 4600/60

## SIND AGITATION DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 6 Oct 83 pp 9, 24

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "Return to Status Quo Is Not Possible"]

[Text]

OCTOBER should prove a critical month for any insights into the way the scales will eventually tilt. The agitation in Sind continues. In the Punjab, local elections having finally been pushed out of the way, the eight-party Opposition alliance seems to be getting ready for a fresh trial of strength. The efforts of the Government to undercut it by holding talks with the JUP are also not without significance.

Pakistani governments, civil or military, when faced with a crisis, usually begin by saying that they are not prepared to talk to anyone. Only when the pressure becomes relentless does their intransigence begin to crumble. The JUP represents no one, and Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi is clearly playing a spoiler's role; the talks can clearly yield nothing, but the Government's readiness to get into them does indicate at best its awareness that in the present volatile situation there is a need for an appearance of accommodation and dialogue and, at worst, its conviction that it would be a worthwhile effort to weaken the Opposition. This new sophistication is some advance from the position that the Opposition would be taught the lesson of its lifetime.

### In the balance

Although the situation hangs in the balance, one thing is certain: it will not return to the status quo as it existed on August 12. Too much has happened, too many lives have been lost, and too much water has flown down the Indus. The regime's reluctance towards a genuine dialogue is matched by a hardening mood in the eight-party alliance, which will make it difficult for it to come to the negotiating table unless there are meaningful concessions which take into account the events of the last two months. And, at any rate, the momentum has become such that there are not very many people the masses in the interior of Sind would be prepared to listen to. In these circumstances, the worst counsellor the Government could have regarding the situation in Sind is Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur, who is an interested witness.

### Unstoppable

It should be forgotten by no one, least of all by the Government, that once genuine mass movements develop in this country, they are virtually unstoppable. This was the experience

of 1968-69, when the mass movement against the 'civilian' regime of Field Marshal Ayub Khan took four months to dislodge him from the presidency — and that at a time when there was a political process of sorts alive in the country, when the Press was not so tightly gagged, and the political leadership not so restricted in its movement. The crisis in East Pakistan festered for two years before it reached a crescendo with the creation of Bangladesh. The movement against Mr. Bhutto lasted for six months, and this after the election campaign had opened the floodgates of protest. The PNA enjoyed the freedom to hold public meetings, stage mammoth processions, and create an atmosphere of frenzy in the whole country. Curbs had been lifted from the Press and Mark Tully was in his element.

### Quick suppression

The present movement, on the other hand, is contending against a regime which by its very nature can give little quarter. The civil bureaucracy and the police cannot afford to slacken. Dissent is visited by quick suppression. Mr. Bhutto lacked the aid of the swift trial and the evening punishment. Flogging has been elevated into one of the major instruments of statecraft. The Press labours under such compulsions that Mr. Altaf Gauhar's propaganda apparatus looks dangerously liberal by comparison, while the BBC is playing a cautious, if not a supportive, role. As for the Americans, whose role is critical in any appreciation of the strength of the regime, one eye is fastened on Afghanistan and the other on the heavy investment they have made to prop up the establishment. They would look with disfavour at anything that might disrupt its stability. For this reason, any human rights lectures on the part of Mr. Weinberger would have been subdued and oblique. An administration that can't see the warts in its own Central American backyard will not hasten to assist the cause of democracy in Pakistan.

### No laughing matter

But if, despite these odds, the movement continues, is it not a measure of its strength? Foreign analysts in Islamabad tend to dismiss the Punjab too easily, ignoring the fact that if, irrespective of the risks and restrictions, the campaign of courting arrests has lasted for two months it is no laughing matter. By now it has begun to attract ex-MNAs and ex-MPAs from the Punjab, a safe indication that they expect the movement to succeed. The local elections have also been a blessing in the sense that they have given the Opposition alliance time to organise its ranks and get ready for the change of season in October. Prior to August 12, the eight-party alliance was not even thinking in terms of a mass movement of extended duration, its ambivalence on this score highlighted by the initial announcement that the civil disobedience movement would last only till August 21, a generous deadline later extended to August 29, by which time the strength of the civil disobedience movement had taken everyone by surprise. These temporary milestones were swept aside only by the momentum of events in Sind. And now we have reached the stage where even to the dim eyes of the Punjab it seems that a cloud of permanence overhangs the movement.

### Debased coinage

What should be done to resolve the situation has become a subject of extended cliché. That political problems should be solved through political means, through dialogue and mutual accommodation, is a truism being repeated by everyone on this side of the divide and being as assiduously ignored by everyone on the other side. That time is running out, that the banks of bitterness are rising high, that if concessions are to be given ultimately, they would best be given now, and that it is difficult to suppress a genuine mass movement by force,

are part of a coinage which is steadily being debased because the regime is not prepared to use it.

Perhaps it feels that the redoubt on which it is perched admits of no retreat, and that a step back would mean a headlong plunge into the precipice. If this, indeed, is the case, then all we can expect is a repetition of past experience — initial intransigence followed, when the battering on the gates becomes too insistent, by a little opening which satisfies no one and only increases the desire for more. And then, finally, the deluge and the promise of a fresh delusion. Although what the deluge will sweep along in its wake this time is a question best left unanswered.

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# JI STANCE ON MRD MOVEMENT CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 6 Oct 83 p 7

[Article from the "Between the Lines" column by Linesman: "Of Hare & Hounds"]

[Text]

OFTEN in the more recent past, the not-so-defunct Jamaat-i-Islami has followed a policy of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds; its latest carefully-fabricated policy declaration presents proof at least of the consistency of its tactics.

The joint statement issued last week by the Jamaat Amir and his four provincial deputies expends much verbiage to build up evidence in support of the party's claimed adherence to democratic principles. The Martial Law regime is criticised in very strong language for its failure to maintain law and order, its inability to eliminate corruption, and its incapacity or unwillingness to protect the people's rights. The Government is also charged with following a contradictory policy: by, on the one hand, making announcements about the revival of democracy and, on the other, tightening the grip of the military and civil bureaucracy over the administration. As a result, the Jamaat leaders go on to explain, in one part of the country a blaze has been set alight that causes anxiety to every well-wisher of the country and provides an opportunity to its enemies to add fuel to the fire.

## The cause

However, it is said, with unusual bluntness, that it is an undeniable fact that combustible material for setting a part of the country ablaze was provided by persistently depriving the people of their basic right to participate in the country's affairs and reducing them to the status of slaves. The joint statement goes on to say that deterioration in the situation does not allow any well-wisher of Pakistan to remain a silent spectator. It is also pointed out, a little smugly, that if the Martial Law regime had accepted the Jamaat's offers of co-operation, and the proposal for introduction of its version of the democratic process and the Islamic system, the grim problems Pakistan now faces would not have arisen. And so on and so forth at great length, in the same pained — but not angry — tone.

## No remedy

However, when it comes to suggesting a remedy for the country's ills, the Jamaat is careful not to propose anything that will not somehow open

up for it a path to the corridors of power. It can be seen quite plainly that its main complaint against the Government is that, contrary to the expectations the Jamaat had harboured when it lent its support to the regime and periodically demanded that elections should be postponed, its leaders have not been given a share in governing the country. Early on this experiment was tried briefly, but it did not work too well. Claims put in since then for the Jamaat's accession to office with more than just a semblance of authority — by itself or in alliance with one or two other parties with similar inclinations and designs — have not been accepted, presumably because the regime considers it something of an irrelevancy to associate with the Government a group of parties that have such little backing among the people.

Since then, the Jamaat's dissatisfaction has grown steadily. Slowly it began to give voice to popular demands and common grievances. It also began to advocate a system that will allow for the construction of a democratic facade behind which the selected parties and specially chosen individuals would romp home under a carefully-devised electoral plan. Even now, at the end of all its rhetoric and shouting for elections to be held by March

1984, the Jamaat leaders cautiously do not go beyond the demand for elections according to the positive-results structure created in 1979. This means that only the registered parties would be allowed to function or take part in elections, that the quaint electoral rules creating a novel system of proportional representation would operate, hopefully helping the Jamaat to get the seats it requires to claim a position in the projected Right-wing coalition, and that, at the same time, most parties which enjoy mass backing will be eliminated and their followers left confused and frustrated.

The Jamaat is clearly worried about its increasing isolation from the people, and the fact that current events may see it left by the waywide. However, it cannot rejoin the mainstream of political life unless it abandons its ambivalence and agrees to support the national consensus, namely, that the abated 1973 Constitution should be revived and elections held in a manner that there would be no hindrance in the way of the people choosing their representatives freely to form the future assemblies, which will throw up new governments and determine their policies.

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## CONTROVERSY SURROUNDS BOOK ALLEGEDLY AUTHORED BY BENAZIR BHUTTO

Calcutta SUNDAY in English 2-8 Oct 83 p 44

[Text]

London: Benazir Bhutto's book, *Pakistan: The gathering storm* published by an Indian publisher, Vikas Publishing House was expected to create a storm because of its explosive contents and also for its author's open contempt for the military rulers of Pakistan. Easily, a potential best seller, the book, however, appears to be gathering a different kind of storm which its publishers certainly did not expect.

First, doubts about its authenticity were raised in a news despatch from Islamabad which quoted a lawyer denying, on behalf Benazir, that she ever wrote the book. Narendra Kumar, the managing director of Vikas, however, maintained that the book was indeed written by Benazir and its manuscript was offered to them for publication by an unnamed member of President Zia's entourage to the Non-Aligned Meet in New Delhi, whose integrity was beyond question. According to him this was not the first time that the authenticity of a book published by them had been questioned: twice before, once when Vikas published Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's jail diaries (*If I am assassinated*) and again when they published a former Pakistani air force chief, Asghar Khan's book, *The Generals in Pakistan*, doubts were cast about their authenticity. However, in the end the publishing house was vindicated.

But now that the authenticity of Benazir's book is being questioned by her close relatives the controversy seems to be assuming a proportion beyond what the publishers had, perhaps, bargained for. One of the doubters is Mrs B. Hariri, sister of Begum Nusrat Bhutto, Benazir's mother. She told this correspondent that having talked the matter over with her sister Nusrat, who is under-

going medical treatment in south of France, she was convinced that Benazir could not possibly have written the book that was being attributed to her. "Why did Benazir have to smug-

gle the book to Vikas when she has relatives in Tehran, USA, UK and even Bombay?" she asks. Her doubts, she said, had further been reinforced by the fact that Benazir was being held in solitary confinement under a very strict surveillance. "Even her closest relatives cannot meet her. Her sister Sanam was allowed to see her just once and that too for only one hour. It is virtually impossible to smuggle anything out from the place where Benazir is being held," she said.

Apart from this, the book, according to Mrs Hariri, was not in line with Benazir's or her party's thinking. For instance, it speaks rather glowingly about the present Babrak Karmal regime in Afghanistan, which, if the book had really been written by Benazir would not have found a place in it. Indeed, she suspected that the book was a carefully designed plant to discredit Benazir and was meant, presumably, to be used as an excuse for any drastic steps that the military rulers might be thinking of taking against her now that the popular discontent against the military rulers is gaining momentum. She also did not think that Benazir would have disowned writing the book as she did through her lawyer, if she had really written it. "Benazir has proved that she can face all brutality of the martial law regime. She has faced up to it for the last six years, and for this she has been in jail for the last four-and-a-half years. The thought that she could be pressurised by the military ruler, to say something against her will, is itself disgusting," she added.

Seetha Kumar

## BRIEFS

PARTY AFFILIATIONS OF CANDIDATES--Either the Pir of Pagara cannot seriously be accused of telling the truth or the non-political character of the local body elections even in the Punjab is mere propaganda--aimed at keeping or weeding out unwanted elements. As President of the party that carries his name, the Pir has announced that he will visit Lahore to oversee the Mayoral election and muster support for his party's candidate. He has claimed that out of 100 members comprising the Lahore Corporation, 20 were elected with Muslim League support and owed it allegiance; 35 elected members were claimed by the JUP and 30 by the Jamaat. The rest, thought the Pir, could have been returned on the so-called Awami ticket (despite the PPP and MRD boycott of elections). If all this or most of it is true, are not all these gentlemen liable to be disqualified under the rules? [Text] [Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 6 Oct 83 p 8]

CSO: 4600/60

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